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TH E Ministers of the Kings Majesties Chappel reading the Common-Prayers and Liturgy allowed in the Church of England, when the Ordinary Prayers with the Epistle and Gospel is ended, the diseased persons are brought by the Kings Chyrurgeons into His Majesties presence, where by Faith and fervent Prayer they desire help. Then is read this Gospel next following; and when these words are read, *viz.* *They shall lay their hands,* &c. The King layeth both his hands on the diseased persons, and with his bare hands doth stroke them: which being done, the diseased persons stand a little aside. Then the rest of this Gospel is read, *viz.* *So then when,* &c.

The Gospel written in the xvij of Mark.

Jesus appeared unto the eleven as they sate at meat, and cast in their teeth their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen that he was risen again from the dead. And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to all creatures: He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be damned. And these tokens shall follow them that believe: In my Name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall drive away serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them: **THEY SHALL LAY THEIR HANDS ON THE SICK, AND THEY SHALL RECOVER.** So then when the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received into heaven, and is on the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with miracles following.

Which Gospel being read, then this Gospel next following is also read: And when these words are read, *That light was the true light,* &c. The King ariseth, and the diseased are again brought before him; then he taketh a piece of Gold called an Angel, of the value of 10 shillings, with a hole made therein, and making the sign of the Cross on the diseased place, with Prayer and Blessing, he hangeth the Gold in a Silk-string about the Neck of every diseased person. When the King hath so put an Angel of Gold about the Neck of every one of the diseased persons, then the rest of this Gospel is read, *viz.* *He was in the world,* &c. The diseased persons standing in the mean time a little aside.

The Gospel written in the first of St. John.

IN the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by it, and without it was made nothing that was made. In it was life, and the life

was the light of men and the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. There was sent from God a man, whose name was John: the same came as a witness to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of the light. **THAT LIGHT WAS THE TRUE LIGHT, WHICH LIGHTETH EVERY MAN THAT COMETH INTO THE WORLD.** He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came among his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to be made sons of God, even them that believed on his Name, which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. And the same word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we saw the glory of it, as the glory of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth.

This Gospel being ended, then the King with the whole company of the Church upon their knees do pray thus:

Lord have mercy upon us. **C**hrist have mercy upon us. **L**ord have mercy upon us.
Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven, Give us this day our dayly bread, And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us, And lead us not into temptation: **A**nswer. But deliver us from evil, Amen.
Minister, O Lord save thy servants. **A**nswer. Which put their trust in thee.
Min. Send unto them help from above. **A**ns. And evermore mightily defend them.
Min. Help us O God our Saviour. **A**ns. And for the glory of thy Names sake deliver us, be merciful unto us sinners for thy Names sake.
Min. O Lord hear our prayers. **A**ns. And let our cry come unto thee.

Almighty God, the eternal health of all such as put their trust in thee, hear us we beseech thee on the behalf of these thy servants for whom we call for thy merciful help, that they receiving health, may give thanks to thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Then the Prayers are concluded with this Blessing, *viz.*

THE peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

Which being ended, the healed persons depart, first giving thanks to God, and to the Kings Majesty, and congratulating one another for their recovery.

THE KING'S EVIL

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PREFACE

THIS volume presents, in ampler form, the substance of my Fitzpatrick lectures at the Royal College of Physicians in 1911. In view of the intimate association of the Ceremonial of Healing with the French Coronation ritual and with the English Sovereignty, the subject seemed to me to be peculiarly appropriate to the year. It has been my endeavour to make the subject a living part of the general history of England : to isolate medical history from general history is, in my opinion, to sterilize it. In breaking fresh ground, I have felt it desirable frequently to quote authorities *verbatim*. Medical history is becoming a subject of keen study in many countries, and this method of full quotation does something, at any rate, to diminish the difficulty of access to original authorities, that every foreigner experiences. The bibliography is arranged, as far as is practicable, in the chronological sequence of the matters under discussion. Bibliographies are apt to be more valuable for what they do not say than for what they do, and I therefore take this opportunity of saying, that I have searched nearly all the early Chronicles, many State Papers, many Manuscripts, illuminated and other, and many other sources, and have found nothing to add. The historian who leaves no bibliography behind him should

PREFACE

be treated by all right-minded persons with the same disapproval as they mete out to the man who, having amassed a large fortune, has left at his decease a bare pittance to his descendants. Perhaps a word of apology is necessary for the translations I have occasionally introduced, in the belief that some readers will be most at home in their vernacular. I have reproduced in the text all the Offices of Healing, with the exception of that of Edward VI, which remains for some other to identify. I suggest, however, that it was identical with that used by Queen Elizabeth. The Appendix of Proclamations does not profess to be exhaustive, but it contains, I fancy, all and more than all those of any material importance.

R. C.

March, 1911.

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THE KING'S EVIL

IN recent years the materials for the making of history have accumulated with such rapidity and in such abundance, that it behoves us to take stock of our most cherished historical beliefs in the light of our freshly acquired knowledge. At the same time the expansion and better ordering of libraries and museums has made records and relics accessible to the many, so that historical research is no longer the privilege and possession of the few. So picturesque and so human a theme as the cure of the 'King's Evil' has never lacked literary devotees, but the fatal fascination of the subject has seldom failed to convert the pen of the historian into the brush of the impressionist: the colouring of the picture has received not a little of the skill and the care, that had better have been lavished on the draughtsmanship. English historians and English medical writers, almost without exception, have accepted and propagated the tradition that refers the practice back to Edward the Confessor, and confidently claim it as a putative faculty transmitted by him to all his successors on the English throne. The French on the other hand assert, that the English borrowed the custom from the ancient use of the kings of France. The adjudication of these conflicting claims is the chief and the most difficult problem that presents itself to the would-be investigator. Customs, such as this, must not be conceived of as the product of a day: their growth is gradual: they do not spring into existence full-fledged, like Athena from the brain of Zeus. We must be

content to determine at intervals clear landmarks, as we trace them back to a point at which their roots disappear from view and are lost in the myths and legends of antiquity. So it is with the quest of the King's healing of the Evil. In all nations the art of healing has been accorded a divine parentage. The gods in turn have transmitted the gift to mortal man, bestowing it chiefly upon those whom genius or fortune have raised above the level of their fellows. Thus by the inevitable logic of circumstance healing became in early times an attribute of sovereignty. Did not Pyrrhus,¹ King of Epirus, in the early part of the third century B.C., cure diseases of the spleen by the touch of the great toe of his right foot, as the sufferer lay on his back on the ground? Did not Vespasian² restore sight to a blind man by touching his eyes with spittle, and cure another of lameness by mere imposition of hands, after they had received timely warning in temple sleep at the Alexandrine shrine of Serapis, that they would obtain healing from his touch? Did not Adrian³ cure dropsy by the touch of his finger-tips? With the gradual spread of Christianity the royal prerogative of healing is usurped for a while by priestly hands, again to return to the race of Christian kings, when the rite of unction at their coronation endowed them as the Anointed of the Lord with special gifts by grace of God. Nor is the reason of this far to seek. The Great Physician Himself wrought many miracles of healing by His mere touch. Such was the healing of the man full of leprosy, who fell on his face before Him saying, 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And he put forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will: be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. vii. c. 2. ² Tacitus, *Hist.* lib. iv. c. 81.

³ Aelius Spartianus.

from him.¹ But at His going away, it was to His disciples that He bequeathed 'power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness';² and we are told further that the transference was effective, for 'by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people';³ and again, 'God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul.'⁴

The early Fathers of the Christian Church faithfully interpreted the trust according to the strict letter of the Master's bequest, and their works teem with records of miraculous cures at the shrines of saints, and by the hands of prelates and holy men: while later the great ecclesiastical historians take up the same tale. Our English Bede recounts miracles of healing by touch—Germanus, a Gallican prelate, cured in this manner the contracted leg of a lame boy.⁵ Bishop John also cured a dumb man by making the sign of the Cross on his tongue, and bidding him speak. But no healings are wrought by kings, though wonderful cures happened at the place where Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, met his death. So too Gregory of Tours (540–594 A.D.) in his whole bewildering array of miracles of medicine, he finds no single one to bestow on the kings of his native land. True, he tells how King Guntran, while the plague (*lues inguinaria*) was raging at Marseilles, in 582 A.D., gathered the people into the churches, and bid them offer prayers for three days, with vigil and fasting, while he himself distributed his alms broadcast; and seemingly the plague was stayed.⁶ Passing forward four centuries from Gregory, we come to the first clear and reliable record in French or English history

¹ St. Luke v. 12–14.

² St. Matt. x. 1.

³ Acts v. 12.

⁴ Acts xix. 11.

⁵ *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. c. 21.

⁶ *Hist. Francorum*, lib. ix. c. 21.

of healing by royal hands. Helgald the monk, writing a few years after the death of Robert the Pious (996-1031 A.D.), with whom he was contemporary, depicts the cures wrought by this king in the following passages :

Nam ipsa terra multos habens infirmos et praecipue leprosos, hos vir Dei non abhorruit, quia in Scripturis sanctis legit Dominum Christum multoties in speciem leprosorum hospitio susceptum. Ad hos avida mente properans et intrans, manu propria dabat deniariorum summam, et ore proprio figens eorum manibus oscula, in omnibus Deum collaudabat. . . . Tantam quippe gratiam in medendis corporibus perfecto viro contulit divina virtus, ut sua piissima manu infirmis locum tangens vulneris, et illis imprimens signum sanctae Crucis, omnem auferret ab eis dolorem infirmitatis.¹

[For this land being full of sick folk and chiefly lepers, this man of God did not abhor them, for he read in Holy Scripture that the Lord Christ was often entertained under the guise of a leper. Hastening eagerly to them, he would enter their abodes, and give them with his own hand a sum of pence, and pressing kisses on their hands with his lips praised God in each cure. . . . Such power of bodily healing did the goodness of God bestow on this perfect man, that the touch of his holy hand on the sore places of sick men, together with the imprint of the sign of the Holy Cross, took away from them all the suffering of their sickness.]

From these words it is clear that Robert the Pious cured sick persons by touch, but we have no sufficient indication of the nature of their sickness. The complete dissociation in the text of the two records, and the difference of procedure adopted by the King, show that some other disease or diseases than leprosy are signified. Indeed, all the evidence of the period suggests that, at first, kings bestowed their healing touch on several diseases, and that royal specialism is of later date.

¹ 'Helgaldi Floriacensis Monachi Epitoma Vitae Roberti Regis,' in Bouquet's *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores*, ed. 1760, vol. x. p. 98.

Many medical terms were then generally employed with no precise significance, and the term 'leprosus' carried, until quite modern times, about as vague a connotation as the word 'Scurvy' did with lay and medical writers of the eighteenth century. This abuse of terms dogs the steps of the medical historian at every turn. One general inference of some importance may justly be drawn from the passage, that Helgald regarded the healing power of King Robert as a peculiar gift to him, and not as a faculty bequeathed to him by his predecessors on the throne. If this be so, Robert the Pious must be regarded as the first Christian king to heal disease by the touch and by the sign-manual of the Cross. When Helgald's words are read side by side with the next record from the *Chronicles of France*, it will be seen that there are more than slight grounds for concluding, that scrofula was one of the diseases handled by King Robert. Guibert, Abbé de Nogent (1053-1124 A.D.), is next to break the silence.

Quid quod Dominum nostrum Ludovicum Regem consuetudinario uti videmus prodigo? Hos plane, qui scrophas circa iugulum, aut uspiam in corpore patiuntur, ad tactum eius, superaddito crucis signo, vidi catervatim me ei cohaerente, et etiam prohibente, concurrere. Quos tamen ille ingenita liberalitate, serena ad se manu obuncans, humillime consignabat. Cuius gloriam miraculi cum Philippus pater eius alacriter exercebat, nescio quibus incidentibus culpis, amisit. Super aliis Regibus qualiter se gerant in hâc re, supersedeo; Regem tamen Anglicum neutquam in talibus audere scio.¹

[How is it that our Sovereign King Louis works this wonder repeatedly before our eyes? I have seen those afflicted with scrofulous swellings about the throat or in other parts of their bodies flock in crowds to receive his touch together with the sign of the Cross, while I kept close to him and even warned them off. But he, so generous his nature, drew them gently to him with

¹ *De Pignoribus Sanctorum*, lib. i.

his hand, and signed them with the Cross in deep humility. His father, Philip, while in full exercise of this glorious miracle, fell under some reproach or other, and lost the power. I say nothing as to the practice of other kings in this matter. Still I know that the English king makes no attempt to do likewise.]

Guibert's testimony is so precise as to establish beyond all question that both Philip I (1061-1108 A.D.) and Louis VI (1108-1137 A.D.) did actually touch for the cure of scrofula, the disease soon to acquire the *sobriquet* of the 'King's Evil'. The whole language of Guibert suggests that in his time the custom was already firmly established in France, and the applicants for healing numerous, and as but one reign, that of Henry I (1031-1060 A.D.), intervened between Robert the Pious and Philip I, it would seem probable that Robert's patients were also scrofulous.

No word in the whole of medical terminology has been more ill-used than the word 'scrofula'. Who can say what the word denotes to-day, unless we may fall back on the French *mot*, '*On devient tuberculeux, mais on naît scrofuleux*'? To early medical writers, however, at least as far back as the fourth century A.D., it had a clear and definite significance. It was the form of 'struma' that affected the glands of the neck, and Aetius, Paulus of Aegina, Johannicius, and others, had defined 'struma' as enlargement and induration of the glands, and their dictum was law. The word 'scrofula' is undoubtedly derived from 'scrofa', which Juvenal,¹ among others, uses for a sow; and any one who will casually observe the prominent submaxillary pouches of the sow, will see an obvious reason for the name. Yet various writers have spent their ingenuity in elaborating the most far-fetched explanations, some

¹ *Satirae*, vi. 177.

suggesting, as Polydore Vergil¹ does, that it is referable to the proneness of pigs to the disease, others to the exuberant fertility of the sow resembling the tendency of the glands to multiply, and others going a step further back to the hypothetical root of *scrofa* ($\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$ =I grave, or burrow) and attributing it to the habit of pigs of burrowing in their straw, as scrofulous glands burrow under the skin. *Struma* (a heaped up thing), from *struo*, is the older word, and is the term habitually employed by the early Latin medical writers for enlargement of the glands.

It will be well at this stage to consider the varied origins that French writers themselves have assigned to the custom of touching for scrofula. Some under the immediate spell of the ceremony, boldly trace it back to the coronation of Clovis in 496 A.D.: of these André Laurent, physician to Henri IV, is one. Mézeray² gives the story in full, but he adds significantly, ‘Ne me demandez pas d'où ils ont tiré cette aventure, je n'en scay rien.’ The tale is that Clovis, baptized and crowned on the same day, dreamt that he had touched the sores of his favourite Lanicet, and they were immediately healed. Forthwith he conferred with Remigius, Archbishop of Rheims, later to be canonized as St. Remi, who persuaded him to seek out Lanicet, and to touch him; he did so, and Lanicet was healed. Clovis thereafter often exercised the power with success, and bequeathed it as an inheritance to his successors on the throne. The whole story may be dismissed as mere myth. Gregory of Tours makes no allusion to it. The story of the coronation of Clovis with sacred unction has never been traced back further than Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who died in 882 A.D., nearly

¹ *Hist. Anglicana*, lib. viii.

² *Hist. de France*, ed. 1643, vol. i. p. 634.

four hundred years after Clovis. Hincmar relates how holy oil for the consecration of Clovis was brought from heaven in a phial by a dove and given to Rémi; this oil was zealously preserved in the tomb of St. Remi, at the Abbey of his name, and was brought with great ceremony to each coronation at Notre-Dame de Rheims, right down to that of Charles X in 1824. Whether Hincmar's story had its origin in a perfervid imagination, or in some legend that was in the air, is impossible to say, but it is of small moment, as it is generally agreed that sacred unction formed no part of the French Coronation ritual till a much later date than that of Clovis.

Another tradition refers the healing of scrofula to St. Marcoulf, who is said to have obtained the gift from heaven in his lifetime. Mézeray¹ gives the legend. St. Marcoulf was born of noble parents at Bayeux: he seems to have bestowed his patrimony on the poor about him and to have lived a life of retirement, till at thirty years of age he entered the priesthood. By his preaching he rescued Normandy from paganism, and God supported his efforts with many miracles, the fame of which reached Childebert, son of Clovis I. Childebert sent for him, and on his way to the Court, along with others of his religious order, he worked many miracles, some of which were cures of scrofula. Childebert received him with great honour, as the messenger of God, and made him a grant of land at Nanteuil, near the town of Coutances, on which to build a monastery. In gratitude for this grant to St. Marcoulf, God gave to the kings of France the power of healing scrofula, that St. Marcoulf had enjoyed. He died at Nanteuil, May 1, 558 A.D., and part of his bones was removed to Mantes, while the residue was kept in the church dedicated to

¹ *Hist. de France*, loc. cit.

him at Corbigny, in the diocese of Laon. Out of this arose the custom observed in later years by the kings of France at their Coronation, of going three days after their consecration at Rheims to Corbigny, to perform a nine days' devotion at the shrine of St. Marcoulf, and there to touch for the Evil. In French writers the disease sometimes carries the name of St. Marcoulf, and at other times is termed 'le mal royal'.

St. Marcoulf was also venerated in England, and a Chamber of St. Marcoulf in Westminster Palace is frequently mentioned in Rolls of Parliament in the time of Edward III and Edward IV. Carte identifies this with the Painted Chamber, which was also called St. Edward's Chamber, and is believed to have been actually built by the Confessor.¹ The name 'Painted Chamber' can be no older than the time of Henry III, for he it was who adorned it lavishly with mural paintings.² Barnes speaks of a Parliament meeting, May 21, 1364, in the Painted Chamber.³ In the ceremonial of the marriage of Richard, second son of Edward IV, in 1477, the Painted Chamber is spoken of still as Saint Edward's Chamber.⁴ That with these alternative names in use it should also have been called St. Marcoulf's Chamber suggests, that it may have been in the Painted Chamber that the Plantagenet kings touched for the Evil.

The above legends must, of course, be set down to the account of historical romance, and serious French historians have for the most part been content to trace back the practice to the time of Philip I.

The Parthian shaft, with which Guibert in his concluding words assails the impotence of the English

¹ Carte, *Hist. of England*, vol. i. lib. iv. § 42.

² Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*. ³ *Hist. of Edward III.*

⁴ Anstis, *Observations on the Knighthood of the Bath*.

kings, demands consideration. The language is no mere passing comment, though it is probably true that Henry I, in whose reign it is written, did not touch for the Evil. Adder's poison is under the tongue, as though some whisper of encroachment on the prerogative of the kings of France had reached his ear: and very probably it had, for shortly before his death in 1066 A.D. the Confessor had cured a woman of scrofula.

The earliest record of this miracle may be found in the '*Vita Aeduardi qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*'.¹ The author of this manuscript is unknown, but intrinsic evidence shows that he lived in the times of which he wrote. Its date lies between 1066 A.D. and 1074 A.D., for the battle of Stamford Bridge is mentioned, while the work is dedicated to Edward's queen, Edith, who died in 1074 A.D. The author would seem to have been a monk of Westminster, and his manuscript was freely used by Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster, who completed his Life of Edward about 1139 A.D. These are our unknown author's words:

Nam sicut bonis et idoneis viris contestificantibus comperimus, his in hâc corruptibili vita signis glorificavit eum Deus. Iuvacula quaedam iam maritum sortita, sed nullo maritali fructu iucundata, patiebatur circa fauces et sub illis maxillis quas ad similitudinem glandis nuncupant glandulas, quae ita totam faciem corruperant morbo et nimium foetore, ut vix alicui loqueretur absque grandi confusione. Haec somnio edocetur, quia si a rege Aeduardo aqua lavaretur, ab illa infestissima lue sanaretur. Ergo doctrinam somnii cum certitudine manifestat fidei, quo rex auditio non dignatur infirmo adesse sexui. Erat dulcissimae mentis et cunctis poscentibus plurimae affabilitatis. Allato aquae vase rex manum intingit, porrectisque digitis faciem mulierculae et contacta morbo loca perungit. Hocque agens frequentius iterat: interdum etiam cruce signat. Et mirum in modum mira dicturo credite. Liniente

¹ Harleian MS. 526, British Museum; and Rolls Series.



EDWARD THE CONFESSOR TOUCHES A SCROFULOUS WOMAN
From *La Estoire de Saint Edward le Rei*. MS. Ee. iii. 59.
(University Library, Cambridge.)

rege morbus medicatus a crusta mollescit et solvitur, ducentequa manu e diversis foraminibus vermes plene cum sanie et sanguine egrediuntur. Item pius rex sancta dextera promens, et educens saniem, nec abhorret in infirma muliere hunc pati foetorem, donec medicante manu omnem illam noxiā elicit pestem. Lubet deinde eam quotidie regia stipe ali, donec integræ restitueretur sanitati. Vix in curia per septimanat, cum Dei gratia detersa omni obscenitate eam venusto decore informat. Et quae prius vel ob eandem vel aliam infirmitatem sterilis erat, eodem anno et marito secunda exitit, et deinceps vixit cunctis cohabitantibus non iniocunda. Quod licet nobis novum videatur, hoc eum in adolescentia cum esset in Neustria quae nunc Normannia nuncupatur, saepius egisse Franci testantur.

[For as we have learnt by the testimony of good and trusty men, God glorified him in this corruptible life by these tokens following. A certain young woman, married but gladdened by no fruit of her marriage, came to be afflicted about her throat and beneath her jaws with glands, as they are called from their likeness to an acorn; the which had so spoilt her whole aspect with the excessive foulness of the disease, that she could scarce speak to any one without great mental torment. She is told in a dream, that if she were washed with water by King Edward, she would be healed of her most grievous disease. So, steadfast in faith, she reveals the bidding of her dream, and hearing it the King disdains not to succour her feeble sex. His disposition was of the kindest and ever easy of access to all petitioners. A vessel of water is brought, and the King dips his hand, and with outstretched fingers besprinkles the woman's face and the parts smitten with the contagion. This act he repeats again and again, signing her the while with the Cross. Now give credit to my tale of this wonder of wonders. At the King's anointing the diseased part softens, the scab is loosened, and as he draws back his hand, worms come out from several openings along with much bloody matter. So the devout King takes and draws out the matter with his holy hand, not shrinking to endure the foetor of this weak woman, till his healing hand has removed all the noxious plague. Thereafter it is his royal pleasure that she be maintained from day to day at his own cost, until she should be restored to full health. Scarce a week

does she stay at Court, ere the good God has wiped away all her unsightliness, and fashioned her with sweet comeliness. And she who for this or some other infirmity was aforetime barren, in the same year became fertile by her husband, and thenceforth lived a pleasant sight for all that shared her home to see. Now, strange though it may seem to us, the French say that he often did the same thing in his young days, when he was in Neustria, which is now called Normandy.]

The record continues with a description of the miraculous healing of certain blind men, together with an account of miracles performed at his tomb. William of Malmesbury¹ reproduces in his Chronicle the above passage with merely slight verbal alterations, and it is this which hitherto has been regarded as the first account of the Confessor touching for the Evil. He appends, however, a passage of no small importance, as follows :

Unde nostro tempore quidam falsam insinuant operam,
qui asseverant istius morbi curationem non ex sanctitate,
sed ex regalis prosapiaie hereditate fluxisse.

[Wherefore it is a falsehood that some declare nowadays, who assert that the cure of that disease was derived not from his holiness, but by inheritance from his royal lineage.]

These passages establish beyond all doubt, that a few years before his death the Confessor healed by touch in his English kingdom a case of scrofula, as then conceived. That he was the first king to do so in England must also be conceded, if the words 'licet nobis novum videatur' are to carry any significance. Further, it is stated that he had often touched for scrofula, when living with his mother in exile at the Norman Court, before he was recalled to receive the crown. It is also clear that he bestowed his touch not only on scrofula but on cases of blindness; and finally, that in the time

¹ *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, lib. ii.

of William of Malmesbury controversy had already arisen as to whether Edward cured by reason of his own sanctity, or in virtue of a power bequeathed to him by former sovereigns. Now William of Malmesbury was born about 1095 A.D.; he received his education and spent his early years as a monk in the monastery of Malmesbury. There he would have conversed with monks whose memory went back to Canute. His *Gesta Regum*, originally finished by 1125 A.D., was taken up again later and revised and continued down to 1140 A.D.; he is believed to have died about 1145 A.D. From him then, who had actually lived in the reigns of William II, Henry I, and Stephen, we have no word of any one of these kings having touched for scrofula, but what he tells us is, that out of Edward's act of healing there had arisen a controversy as to whether he had wrought the cure in virtue of his inherent holiness, or in virtue of his kingly descent. And he expressly states that *the power was not inherited from his predecessors*. There would seem to be no escape from the conclusion, that the Confessor was the first English king to touch for scrofula, and all his chronicles agree that this was shortly before his death in 1066 A.D. We know, too, from the contemporary chronicle¹ that *between 1066 and 1074 A.D. this method of healing by touch was regarded as a novel thing in England, while from Guibert de Nogent we learn, that at an earlier period in France it was already regarded as an established custom.*

William of Malmesbury and the unknown monk of Westminster each assert, that whereas the Confessor healed but *one case of scrofula in England*, he had healed *many in Normandy* during the period of his exile. Does this bespeak an Anglo-Saxon origin?

Edward was a Saxon king only by reason of his

¹ Harleian MS. 526, British Museum.

lineage: at heart and in his actions he was a Norman king of England, the true child of Norman Emma, who changed her name to Saxon *Ælfgifu*, but not her nature. With her marriage to Ethelred in 1002 A.D. began the real Norman conquest. Edward, banished in early boyhood from England, lived twenty-eight full years (1013–1041 A.D.) at the Norman Court, and there imbibed the whole spirit of the land of his adoption. Recalled by Harthacanute in 1041 A.D., the English accepted him as king in the succeeding year. From the outset Edward rallied to himself men of French speech and manners, bestowing on them all the posts of high honour in the land. Nor did he hesitate to flout the right of the nation to choose its own king, and pledged himself to his cousin Norman William, that at his death the crown of England should be his.

During his earlier years of exile in Normandy, Robert the Pious still occupied the throne of France, and his doings cannot have failed to penetrate to Edward's ears, stirring in him the desire to emulate his healing prowess. Thus came it, as the chronicle tells, 'that he often did the same thing in his young days, when he was in Neustria.'

Another royal sojourner at the Court of Normandy seems also to have felt the spell. Olaf the Holy, King of Norway from 1015 to 1028 A.D., joined friendship there with Edward, and Olaf's Saga¹ tells 'Of the Leechcraft of King Olaf':

So it is said that, while King Olaf tarried in Garthrealm, this hap befell there, that the son of a noble widow got a boil of the throat which grew so large that the boy might get down no food; so that he was thought to be at death's door. The mother of the boy went to Queen Ingigerd, whereas she was of her acquaintance, and showed the boy to her. The queen said she had

¹ *Heimskringla*, Morris, vol. ii. c. 200.

no leechdom to lay thereto: 'Go thou,' says she, 'to King Olaf: he is the best leech there, and bid him fare his hands over the hurt of the boy, and tell him these words of mine, if otherwise he will not do it.'

The mother went: Olaf at first said he was no leech but finally on receiving the queen's message consented.

Then the King bestirred him and fared his hands over the throat of the boy, and stroked the boil much long, until the boy could move his mouth. Then took the King bread and brake it, and laid it in the shape of a Cross in his hollow palm, and syne laid it in the mouth of the boy, and he swallowed it down. And from that nick of time all pain went from the throat, and the boy was in a few days all whole, and the mother and other kinsmen and acquaintance of the boy were right fain at heart thereat. And then first folk deemed that King Olaf had such great hands of healing, as is said about those men who are much endowed with that art, that they have good hands. But later, when his working of wonders became known to all folk, this was taken for a true miracle.

So Olaf, like Edward, on his return to his kingdom healed with his touch a swelling of the neck, using also, like Edward, the sign of the Cross. It is true that Snorri Sturluson, the Icelandic historian (1179-1241 A.D.), did not commit his record to paper till two hundred years after Olaf's death, but the whole tale as it stands negatives the idea that this was a Norse practice of ancient usage. No gift of healing had ere this been ascribed to Olaf, and he himself disclaims the possession of any such power. It is very difficult to resist the conclusion, that both Edward and Olaf, in their acts of healing, were willing disciples of Robert the Pious.

After the death of Edward the practice almost certainly fell into disuse or discredit with the Norman kings of England. William of Malmesbury, as has been seen, makes no mention of healing by any later king than Edward, and all the other chronicles of his time observe

a like silence. Not till the reign of Henry II is well advanced is any further extant record to be found: then it is Peter of Blois that takes up the tale in a letter to the clergy at the Court of Henry II. He writes:

Fateor quidem, quod sanctum est domino regi assistere: sanctus enim et Christus Domini est: nec in vacuum accepit unctionis regiae sacramentum, cuius efficacia, si nescitur, aut in dubium venit, fidem eius plenissimam faciet defectus inguinariae pestis et curatio scrophularum.¹

[I admit indeed that it is a sacred duty to attend upon the lord King: for he is holy and the Lord's Anointed: nor has he received the sacrament of regal unction in vain, for if its efficacy be not known or be in doubt, the disappearance of bubonic plague and the cure of scrofula will beget the fullest belief.]

The date of this letter is uncertain, but its superscription shows that it was written while Peter was Archdeacon of Bath. His earlier years had been spent at the Court of Henry II in Normandy, but a desire for a life of retirement induced him to leave Henry's Court and attach himself to Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury. He became Archdeacon of Bath, and subsequently of London, but the fact that, though a man of deep learning, he never attained greater eminence in the Church, would suggest that he had forfeited Henry's early favour. The letter probably falls between 1170 and 1180 A.D., and is written in mitigation of a previous letter² in which he had condemned the clergy for attaching themselves to the Court. There can be no question that the letter is addressed to the clergy at Henry's English and not at his Norman Court, for it is a pendant to letter xiv, which is addressed to the clergy of the Court of the King of the English. The letter is of peculiar interest in that it attributes the gift of healing to the royal unction. Further, the power of healing,

¹ *Epistola cl : ad Clericos Aulae Regiae.*

² *Epistola xiv.*

which with Edward extended to many diseases, has now become narrowed down to two, the association of which demands consideration. The current conception of scrofula was at this time clear and precise: all enlargement of glands was scrofulous. With plague it is otherwise. The fulminant character of plague, the picture of it as a mysterious pestilence stalking in darkness, appealed with such force to the imagination, as almost to exclude from notice its habitual bubonic nature. Not till the early years of the seventeenth century can we trace any recognition of a slighter ambulatory form, of which glandular enlargement is the outstanding feature, and even then it is seen, as it were, only through a glass darkly. With such conceptions of scrofula and plague it is inevitable that such slight cases of plague of bubonic type must have ranked as scrofulous, while intermediate forms of gradually increasing resemblance must have served to establish an inexplicable affinity between two diseases, which in their widest clinical divergence are far apart as the poles. It is clear from the very large numbers touched by Edward I and Edward III, that some other disease or diseases must have been brought for healing, and it would seem not unlikely that plague of the lesser type was one such. The fact that such cases tend habitually to spontaneous recovery may perhaps afford some explanation of the vogue of the royal touch at this time. It has sometimes been alleged that bubonic plague had never ravaged these islands before the Black Death of 1348-9 A.D., but although it is true that the disease cannot be identified from Bede's writing, from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, or from the early Anglo-Norman Chronicles, the certain knowledge of its repeated presence in France over several previous centuries puts it beyond all reasonable doubt, that the frequent recurrences of 'pestilence' in Eng-

land were actually bubonic plague: and Peter of Blois' words establish this fact as something more than mere conjecture.

Difficulty surrounds the word *defectus*. If it denotes simply the yielding of the disease to the King's touch, we must assume that Peter of Blois uses the two distinct words *defectus* and *curatio* with identical meaning. For this reason it would seem more probable that the choice of word is deliberate, to indicate the general disappearance of plague from the country; which indeed the negative evidence of the Chronicles seems to confirm, during the first twenty years of the reign of Henry II.

But what has happened, in the few decades since William of Malmesbury wrote, to gain recognition for this gift of healing as a prerogative of the King? In the century that had now elapsed since the death of King Edward in 1066 A.D., a cult of the Confessor had taken deep root in the English nation, a cult to which each successive Plantagenet king paid ready homage. The cruel oppression of the two Williams and the unfettered anarchy of Stephen's reign led the English nation by slow degrees to cast regretful memories back to the time of the gentle, if inglorious, Edward, as the last king under whom liberty dared raise her head. The various Lives of the Confessor, among the early chronicles, all bear witness to the fact. Take, for example, this allegory from several of the Lives. Shortly before his death Edward fell into a trance, and lay for two days sick unto death. On the third day his bodily strength revived, and he related the vision he had seen in his trance. Two holy monks, whom he had known when a young man in Normandy, but now dead, appeared to him and warned him of great evils to come upon England for its wickedness and for the desecra-

tion of the Christian religion. The King asked if God would not be moved to pity by the repentance of the people, and what time the punishment would end. The monks replied, 'In that day when a green tree shall be cut away from the midst of its trunk, when it shall be carried away for the space of three furlongs from its root, when, without the help of man, it shall join itself again to its trunk, and shall again put forth leaves and bear fruit in its season. Then first shall be the time when the woes of England shall come to an end.' And how do *Ælred of Rievaulx*, a hundred years after the death of Edward, and the rest interpret the allegory? The punishment was duly meted out in Harold's defeat by the Normans and in the tyranny of the two Norman Williams. With the marriage of Henry I to Saxon Eadgyth, by Normans named Matilda, the green tree returned to its trunk, and Henry II, the child of this union, was the fruit foretold in due season. But neither Henry was destined to restore the happy days of Saxon sovereignty. Such was the soil that Henry II received to till: but now for the husbandman.

Though Henry's mother was an English woman, he himself was a true son of his father, Geoffrey of Anjou, Angevin to the bone. King of England only by right of recent conquest, he was sovereign of Normandy and Anjou, despite his father's will, by unquestioned right of long inheritance. A French prince, who owned an extensive dependency in England, he lived for the most part in his continental dominions, leaving the government of England to viceregal Justiciars. On French soil too, though doing homage to the King of France, he owned a French domain, actually larger than that of King Louis VII himself, in virtue of his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine. This proud and turbulent woman, who looms so large

in French and English history of the time, was not one lightly to forgo the privileges and prerogatives of sovereignty, that she had enjoyed in her own and in the person of her husband, when Queen of France. One is tempted to suggest that she may have prompted a not unwilling husband to arrogate to himself the power of healing exercised by the King of France, and to transplant the ritual to English soil.

That Henry himself embraced the cult of the Confessor is sure. In Stephen's reign, about the year 1141 A.D., Bishop Henry of Winchester had sought, with Stephen's aid, to obtain the canonization of Edward from Pope Innocent II, but in vain. Twenty years after, in 1161 A.D., Abbot Laurence of Westminster—the same as had instructed *Ælred* of Rievaulx, at the suggestion of the monks of Westminster, to write the life and miracles of Edward—determined again to approach the Pope, now Alexander III. Henry II gladly supported the petition, which was now successful, but his continued absence abroad delayed the celebration of the occasion at Westminster till October 13, 1163 A.D., when both Henry and Becket were present. How many a man before and since, in the absence of character, of intelligence, and even of physique, has won great and general esteem by the sublime moral attainment of seeming to be not unamiable! This posthumous achievement is the crowning glory of the Confessor.

Such was the native stock, on which Henry's worldly wisdom designed to implant a foreign graft. By reviving in his own person a gift of healing, associated in the minds of his subjects with their beloved Confessor, he might well hope to bind his people closer to his throne. In the founding of religious houses Henry did much less, and in making provision for the sick

poor much more, than his Norman predecessors did. True to his character his chief foundations were on French soil. At Caen and Rouen he founded large lazarus-houses. At his native Le Mans he built an extensive almshouse or hospital for the use of the sick and poor; at Angers he endowed a large hospice for the poor. Few if any did he found on English soil, and his bequests to English lazarus-houses became effective only at his death. Had he not given them the better gifts that Peter of Blois recites, 'the disappearance of bubonic plague and the cure of scrofula'?

Following hard on Peter of Blois comes Gilbertus Anglicus, whose birth Payne¹ has assigned to the decade 1160-1170 A.D. The period of his study at Salerno would thus fall between 1180 and 1190 A.D. On leaving Salerno, there is reason to think that he joined Archbishop Hubert Walter, under Cœur de Lion, in the third Crusade. Dying about 1230 A.D., his life would have extended over part or all of the reigns of Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III. In the chapter 'De Scrofulis et Glandibus' of his *Compendium Medicinae* Gilbertus Anglicus writes that scrofula is called 'Morbus Regius, quia reges hunc morbum curant' [the King's Evil, because kings cure it]. Writers on the King's Evil have confidently adopted this passage as Gilbert's contribution to the historical continuity of the royal healing in England. But surely the eponym 'Anglicus', though indicating Anglo-Norman birth, suggests distinctly that Gilbert lived and wrote away from the land of his birth. What need to call him 'Anglicus', had his repute been earned in England? Still his use of the plural *reges*, unqualified by any limiting adjective, would seem to indicate kings of France and England, rather than successive kings of either nation.

¹ *Fitzpatrick Lectures.*

There is no extant record of Richard touching ; nor would one look for such, seeing that he spent in England but six months of his ten years' sovereignty. Nor is there of John. Of Henry III direct evidence is also wanting, but that he exercised the power may be inferred from the testimony of Archbishop Bradwardine, which will be examined later in detail, that all the Christian kings of England did so.¹ That Bradwardine's statement as to the earlier kings is wrong is probable, but that he should also be wrong as to a king, of whom the witness of men still living was available, is most improbable.

Conclusions drawn from the silence of the Chronicles are apt to mislead ; the evidence of the large numbers healed repeatedly by Edward I depends on the mere accident of the survival of his household accounts. Of those of earlier kings and of Henry III only a few fragments remain. The voluminous letters of Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln afford no clue, though one² of them is written to Henry III in reply to a letter from the King asking what unction added to the Royal dignity. Grosseteste replies in fullest detail as to the gifts with which it endows the King, but says nothing of a gift of healing. Still other indirect evidence may be drawn from Bernard of Gordon in Guienne (*c.* 1240-1318 A.D.). He was professor at Montpellier from 1285 to 1305 A.D., and began his *Lilium Medicinae* in the last-named year. He now admits a rival to the King of France :

Finaliter oportet recurrere ad manum chirurgicam, sed caveat sibi restaurator in venis et arteriis et nervis, et si non vadamus ad reges, quia reges consueverunt curare solo tactu, potissime serenissimus Rex Francorum, et ideo morbus regius appellatur.³

¹ *De Causa Dei*, lib. i. c. 1.

² *Epistola cxxiv.*

³ *Lilium Medicinae*, ed. 1550, part i. p. 85.

[As a last resort we must have recourse to the surgeon's hand, but see that his mending observes due care of veins, arteries, and nerves; or in default let us betake ourselves to kings, for they have been accustomed to effect a cure by a mere touch, and chiefly the King of the French: wherefore it is called the King's Evil.]

The writings of Gilbertus Anglicus and Bernard of Gordon serve to show that by their time the term 'morbus regius' [King's Evil] had become a current designation of scrofula, at any rate in France. Only a little later John of Gaddesden in England adopts the same name, and it is likewise to be found in the Household Accounts of Edward I. It must, however, be clearly understood, that for many centuries the words had been used in quite another sense, and this alternative meaning persists, side by side with its supplanter, right down to modern times. That writers of the classical period of Latin literature applied the term to jaundice admits of no doubt. Varro (116-28 B.C.) writes:

Arquatus morbus dictus qui regius dicitur, quod arcus sit concolor.¹

[The so-called King's Evil is also called the rainbow disease, because it presents all the colours of the rainbow.]

The familiar play of successive colours in long-standing jaundice, which Varro notes, led mediaeval physicians actually to adopt a classification of jaundice based on this single objective feature. But why jaundice should ever have been termed the King's Evil it is difficult to see. There is a line of Lucretius—one of those fine sonorous hexameters that haunt memory—that perhaps affords a clue:

Lurida praeterea fiunt quaecunque tuentur
Arquati . . .²

[Besides whatever jaundiced folk set eyes on becomes yellow.]

¹ Varro, *Nonius*, 35.

² *De Rerum Natura*, iv. 332.

May it have arisen out of the fable of King Midas, whose hand turned all that it rested on into gold, just as to Lucretius the jaundiced eye appeared to do? *Aurugo* is indeed another name for jaundice: thus Scribonius (fl. c. 52 A.D.) writes:

*Aurugo,¹ quam quidam regium, quidam arquatum
morbum vocant.*

[Golden jaundice, which some call the King's Evil, some the rainbow disease.]

The suggestion that the term 'morbus regius' owns a legendary origin is perhaps supported by the fact that ancient writers share our difficulty in tracing it to its source. Celsus (fl. c. 25 A.D.) propounds the strange idea that it is referable to the luxurious treatment the disease requires.

*Utendum est lecto etiam et conclavi cultiore, usu,
loco, ludis, lasciviâ, aliis per quae mens exhilaretur:
ob quae regius morbus dictus videtur.²*

[He must observe a better style in his couch, his chamber, his exercise, his abode, his games, his amusements, and such other things as cheer the mind: for which reason, it seems, it is called the King's Evil.]

Some 200 years later Serenus Sammonicus,³ who was put to death by Caracalla for the less offence of recommending an amulet as a cure for intermittent fever, thought fit to convert this theory of Celsus into verse. That storehouse of knowledge, the Natural History⁴ of Pliny the Elder (29 A.D.-79 A.D.), is hardly more happy in its quest. There one reads:

*Varro regium cognominatum arquatorum morbum
tradit quoniam mulso curetur.*

[Varro says that the disease of the jaundiced is called the King's Evil, because it is cured by honey wine.]

Presumably a Tokay of antiquity. Horace,⁵ however, seems to have been most impressed by the cutaneous

¹ Scribonius, *Comp.* 110.

² Celsus, *De Medic.* lib. iii. c. 24.

³ *Liber Medic.* 1024.

⁴ Lib. xxii. 114.

⁵ *Ars Poetica*, 453.

irritation of chronic jaundice, for he links the King's Evil up as own brother to the itch. Curiously André Laurent, physician to Henri IV of France, states that the kings of Hungary used to touch for jaundice :

Regibus Hungariae arquati morbi (icterum vocant) curationem datam ferunt.¹

[They say that the power of curing the rainbow disease (so-called jaundice) was granted to the kings of Hungary.]

But Mézeray's words, 'Les rois d'Hongries disent qu'ils guérissent les pasles couleurs,'² would suggest rather chlorosis.

With Edward I on the throne we pass at once out of the region of legend and hypothesis on to the firm ground of historical fact. In the *Computus Hospitii*,³ or Household Accounts of King Edward I (i.e. 1277-1278 A.D.), may be found such entries as the following :

fol. 10 d.

Die lune iiiii die Aprilis fratri Radulpho elemosinario . . . pro lxxiii infirmis egritudinis regis vis. *id.*

[On Monday the 4th of April to brother Randolph almoner . . . for 73 persons sick of the King's Evil, 6s. *id.*]

fol. 11 d.

Die Lune xi die Aprilis . . . pro ciiii xii egrotis de morbo regis curatis xvis. ^{xx}

[On Monday the 11th of April . . . for 192 sick men cured of King's Evil, 16s.]

fol. 12 d. [at Easter time].

pro cc ^{xx} iiii et viii egrotis sanatis de morbo regis xxiiis. *iiid.*

[for 288 sick persons cured of the King's Evil, 24s. 4d.]

It will be noted that the reckoning is faulty.

fol. 17 d. [at Ascension time].

xvii egrotis signatis per regem xviid.

[for 17 sick persons signed by the King, 17d.]

¹ *De Miribili Vi Sanationis.*

² *Histoire de France.*

³ Public Record Office, Chancery Miscell., Bundle iv, No. 1.

fol. 20 [at Whitsuntide].

tribus egrotis benedictis de manu regis per elemosinarium regis iid.

[for three sick persons, blessed by the King's touch, through the almoner, 3*d.*.]

In the Wardrobe Accounts¹ of Edward I there occur also frequent entries: 'pro denariis datis infirmis benedictis per Regem'. [For pence given to sick persons blessed by the King.]

These Wardrobe Accounts show also that Edward I was burdened by ancient custom with an enormous distribution of alms, quite apart from those touched for the Evil. The recipients of such alms received upwards of half a million payments in a single year. Between November 20 and the succeeding April 10, Edward also touched no less than 275 persons. But this number pales into insignificance before the 533 touched in the single month of April, when he had been but five years on the throne. Such a prevalence as this would suggest that the practice had at least been customary in the reign of his father, Henry III. It may be, of course, that Edward I was the first to pay a dole, but it is impossible to decide thus conclusively on the negative evidence of the very scanty accounts of his predecessors that have survived. The Confessor, it will be recalled, had made payment in kind. The records serve further to show that the ceremonial was still of the simplest kind; a touch accompanied by a blessing, along with the sign of the Cross, and a dole of one penny; and that the seasons of healing were generally the festivals of the Church.

Meantime, in France the ceremonial had acquired a greater dignity under the hand of the saintly Louis IX (1226–1270 A.D.). Whereas Louis VI had made use

¹ Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatus Garderobae, 28 Edward I.

of the sign of the Cross, his successors had merely touched the sore place and uttered some appropriate words. Louis IX, however, revived the signature of the Cross.

Cum enim alii Reges predecessores sui tangendo solummodo locum morbi, verba ad hoc appropriata et consueta proferrent, quae quidem verba sancta sunt atque Catholica, nec facere consuevissent aliquod signum crucis: ipse super consuetudinem aliorum hoc addidit, quod dicendo verba super locum morbi, sanctae crucis signaculum imprimebat, ut sequens curatio virtuti crucis attribueretur potius quam Regiae Maiestati.¹

[For as the kings before him had merely touched the sore place, uttering some appropriate and time-honoured words of sacred and Catholic kind, and had not been accustomed to make the sign of the Cross: he made this addition to their practice, that he imprinted the sign of the Cross, that the resultant cure might be ascribed to the power of the Cross and not to his Majesty as King.]

Mézeray² says that St. Louis also initiated the custom of the King preparing himself for the ceremony by fasting, by prayer, and by the Holy Sacrament. Ménin³ confirms and amplifies Mézeray's statement, adding that it was St. Louis who introduced the custom of the King going three days after his consecration at Rheims to the shrine of St. Marcoulf at Corbigny, there to undergo a nine days' devotion, as a preliminary to touching for the Evil. The Chronicle of St. Denys⁴ fills in the picture with some details of the demeanour of Louis in the presence of the sick. Louis knelt down

¹ MS. 'Vita et Sancta Conversatio Piae Memoriae Ludovici Noni Per Fratrem Gavridum de Belloloco, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Eius Confessorem.' In Duchesne, *Hist. Francorum*, ed. 1649, vol. v. p. 460.

² *Histoire de France*, 1643, vol. i. p. 634.

³ *Traité historique du Sacre et Couronnement des Rois et des Reines de France*, 1723.

⁴ Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. 1849, vol. vii. p. 360.

before them and earnestly prayed for their cure, then laid his fingers on the seat of the disease and made the sign of the Cross, 'en disant les paroles de N. S. et de sa digne vertu'; probably these words were the formula subsequently in habitual use, 'Le Roi te touche, et Dieu te guérit.' This done, he embraced them with kisses, and supplied them with food at his court, and money to assist them on their journey home. The numbers touched by the French kings were already large, for Philip of Valois (1328-1350 A.D.) is said to have touched 1,500 persons at one *séance*.

The Wardrobe Account¹ of the tenth year of Edward II, i.e. 1316 A.D., which is not in the Public Record Office, but is held in private hands, affords some useful information. Edward II left London hurriedly on July 26, to repel one of those fierce periodic forays, by which the Scots prepared the way for the peaceful penetration of later days. On July 27 the King touched 22 sick persons in the abbey church of St. Albans. On August 1 he touched 17 at Kingscliff, and on August 2, 11 at Clipsham and 15 at Wilsford. From August 3 to 10 he was at Lincoln and touched 26: subsequently he touched 27 at Bentley and 17 at Tadcaster. From August 16 to the end of November he remained at York and touched 79. He was accompanied by his physician Isembert, so that presumably some professional check would have been placed on the number of applicants.

To the reign of Edward II is commonly assigned the record of John of Gaddesden² (1280-1361 A.D.). In the chapter headed 'Curatio Scrophularum, Glandularum, Nodorum et Verrucarum', the discussion of treatment is ushered in with an elaborate array of dietetic and medicinal remedies, including such nau-

¹ *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi.

² *Rosa Anglica*, lib. ii.

seous materials as weasel's blood and pigeon's dung. Then he proceeds :

Si haec non sufficient, vadat ad Regem, ut eum tangat atque benedicat : quia iste morbus vocatur regius ; et ad hunc valet contactus Serenissimi Regis Anglorum. Ultimo si non sufficient ista omnia, traditur patiens chirurgico : qui non scindat nervos, nec arterias, nec venas, quae prope eas sunt propter periculum mortis, vel propriae raucedinis, et similia. Si patiens sit rusticus, potest laxari cum ovo cocto, pistato cum lacte Titymalli.¹

[If these measures are not sufficient let him betake himself to the King, that he may touch and bless him : for that disease is called the King's Evil, and the touch of his most Serene Highness the King of the English avails to cure it. But if all those measures end in failure, the patient is handed over to the surgeon, who must be careful not to cut nerves, arteries, or veins, which lie close beside the glands for fear of killing him or causing consecutive loss of voice, or some such other trouble. If so be the patient is a countryman, he may be relaxed with a boiled egg pounded up in milk of Titymallus.]

There is little enough in all that John of Gaddesden has to say, that is not borrowed directly either from Gilbertus Anglicus or Bernard of Gordon. But whereas Gilbert speaks vaguely of kings curing it, and Bernard of Gordon awards pre-eminence to the French king, John of Gaddesden declares in no uncertain language for the English king. This harsh note of international jealousy, first struck on this string by Guibert de Nogent, and waking so many sympathetic echoes in other spheres of controversy, is heard again and again in French and English writings on the King's Evil, right down to the end of the chapter of King's Healing. John of Gaddesden has the grace to introduce one variant at least into his wholesale plagiarism, in assigning to the royal touch a place midway between the

¹ The text appears to be corrupt.

polypharmacy of the physician and the handiwork of his surgical *confrère*. In years to come records are occasional of royal failures falling into the hands of the surgeon, and conversely of surgical failures falling into the hands of the King, but surely John of Gaddesden is unique in his deliberate provision for the contingency of the King's therapeutic impotence!

Medical literature has not yet lost its clear and definite notion of what scrofula denotes. Hear what John of Gaddesden says:

Glandulae. Conveniunt cum curatione scrofularum : quia non differunt, nisi secundum magis et minus : namque glandula est una ; sed scrofulae ut plurimum sunt multae, et maxime in collo et faucibus.¹

[Glands. They fit in with the cure of scrofula, for the difference between them is one only of degree: for a gland is single, whereas scrofula is generally multiple, and chiefly located in the neck and throat.]

Thomas Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury, bears witness in his writings to the great vogue of the royal touch in the reign of Edward III. Bradwardine was born in Sussex, about 1290 A.D.: he was educated at Merton College, and afterwards became proctor and chancellor of the University of Oxford. During the wars in France and Flanders he was chaplain and confessor to Edward III. In August, 1338 A.D., he accompanied Edward to a conference at Coblenz, with his brother-in-law, Louis of Bavaria, going by way of Cologne. On his return he was made Prebendary of Lincoln and later Archbishop of Canterbury. He did homage to Edward for the primacy on August 22 at Eltham, but died of plague on August 26, 1348 A.D., the day after he reached London, at the palace of the Bishop of Rochester in Lambeth. He was a profound theo-

¹ *Rosa Anglica*, lib. ii.

logian, and Chaucer extols his learning in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. Such is the man who writes as follows :

Quicumque negas miracula, Christiane, veni et vide ad oculum, adhuc istis temporibus in locis sanctorum per vices miracula gloriosa. Veni in Angliam ad regem Anglicum praesentem, duc tecum Christianum quemcunque habentem morbum Regium, quamquamcunque inveteratum, profundatum et turpem, et oratione fusa, manu imposita, ac benedictione, sub signo crucis data, ipsum curabit in nomine Jesu Christi. Hoc enim facit continue, et fecit saepissime viris et mulieribus immundissimis, et catervatim ad eum ruentibus, in Anglia, in Alemania, et in Francia circumquaque : sicut facta quotidiana, sicut qui curati sunt, sicut qui interfuerunt et viderunt, sicut populi Nationum, et fama quam celebris certissime contestantur. Quod et omnes Reges Christiani Anglorum solent divinitus facere, et Francorum, sicut libri antiquitatum et fama regnorum concors testantur : unde et morbus Regius nomen sumpsit.¹

[Christian, whoever thou art that dost discredit miracles, come and see with thine own eyes glorious miracles still wrought in these very times in the places of worship, now in one, now in another. Come into England to the present English king, bring with you any Christian that has the King's Evil, no matter how inveterate, how deep-seated and loathsome, and he will cure him in the name of Jesus Christ, with prayer poured out, with laying on of hands, and with a blessing given along with the sign of the Cross. For this he does continually, and very often did it to the foulest of men and women, who flocked to him in crowds, in England, in Germany, and in all parts of France : witness thereunto beyond all doubt the occurrences of every day, the testimony of those that have been healed and of those that have been present and seen it, the people of these Nations, and widespread report. And this is a thing that all Christian kings of the English have been accustomed to do by gift of God, and French kings too, as the books of ancient records and the unanimous tradition of these kingdoms testify : for which reason it has acquired the name, the King's Evil.]

Edward III then bestowed his touch broadcast, not

¹ *De Causa Dei*, lib. i. c. 1. Corol. pars 32. p. 39.

only in England, but in Germany, and also in France as became one who claimed the title of King of France. In like wise in later years Charles VIII of France touched for the Evil outside the confines of his inherited kingdom, both at Rome and Naples.¹

The simple ritual of Edward I does not appear to have undergone further elaboration, unless it be that the prayers comprise something more than the simple benediction. Its performance in places of public worship appears to have become customary.

The Wardrobe Accounts of Edward III supply some additional details of interest; the following are typical entries:

Wardrobe Accounts, 12-14 Edward III,² p. 177.

Et pro 885 infirmis benedictis a Rege et per gratiam dei curatis infra dictum tempus [11 July, 12 Edward III, to 28 May, 14 Edward III] a morbo regali cuilibet 1d. de elemosyna Regis. 73s. 9d.

[And for 885 sick persons blessed by the King and by the grace of God cured of the King's Evil during the time mentioned [11 July, 12 Edward III, to 28 May, 14 Edward III] to each 1d. from the King's alms. 73s. 9d.]

Wardrobe Accounts 15-18 Edward III, p. 152.

Pro denariis per ipsum solutis 327 infirmis a dicto domino nostro Rege benedictis infra tempus predictum [2 years] cuilibet 1d.

[For pence paid by his own hand to 327 sick persons blessed by the said lord our King within the aforesaid time, to each 1d. . . .]

Ibid., p. 153 pro denariis per ipsum solutis 69 infirmis a domino Rege benedictis infra tempus predictum [18th year] cuilibet 1d. . . .

[For pence paid by himself to 69 sick persons blessed by our lord King within the aforesaid time [18th year] to each . . . 1d.]

¹ Pierre Desrey, *Great Chronicles of Charles VIII*, vol. ii. p. 471, ed. 1845.

² Exchequer Treasury of Receipt, Misc. Book, 203.

The entries are somewhat vague as to precise dates, but the last two entries together cover the whole period of the Account (9 December, 15 Edward III, to 20 January, 18 Edward III). It is clear, however, that Edward III will have touched at least four or five hundred persons in a year. So far the Account Books of the three Edwards have shed abundant light on the details of the ceremonial, but after this all is silence, and the reason is not far to seek. In 1348-9 A.D., the Black Death, after ravaging the whole of continental Europe, spread to the south coast of England and gradually found its way thence to the remotest parts of the kingdom, devastating towns and villages alike, in one great overwhelming catastrophe. According to the most reliable estimates, the total population of England before the Black Death was under five millions—some think much under—and as the mortality has been estimated at over two millions, it may be said roughly, that half the population was swept away. Slight outbreaks of plague persisted right up to the end of the reign of Edward III, and for the next three hundred years plague was endemic in England, acquiring epidemic prevalence at intervals, and finally dying out in the Great Plague of 1664-6 A.D.

The first effect of the Black Death must necessarily have been to diminish by one half the possible number of applicants for healing. Side by side with this, the vast betterment in the wages and social condition of the labouring class, which followed as a consequence of diminished supply, did much to mitigate their poverty and check disease; and at the same time brought other means of healing within their reach. Perhaps also fear of infection, which crops up so frequently in later years, may have induced the King to bestow his healing touch more sparingly. Such considerations as these serve to

make the silence of the Account Books at least intelligible. The Public Record Office affords no further information until the time of Henry VII. Entries of payments for gold for the ceremony of blessing Cramp Rings are to be found in the Accounts of both Richard II and Henry IV, but none of payments for the King's Evil. This also would perhaps suggest that fear of infection in the latter case may have been the restraining influence.

From the medical works of John Mirfield sufficient evidence is forthcoming to establish the continuity of the custom, however much its popularity may have waned. In his *Breviarium Bartholomaei* we read :

Et si modus iste non placet, vadamus ad regem, quoniam solo tactu reges consueverint illud curare. Et ideo a multis regius morbus vocatur.¹

[And if that measure be not pleasing, let us go to the King, since kings have been accustomed to cure it by touch alone. And so many call it the King's Evil.]

He also states what the term scrofula denotes.

Johannicus quidem dicit quod nihil aliud est scrofula quam glandula multiplicata.²

[Johannicus indeed says that scrofula is nothing but a congeries of glands.]

Norman Moore, to whom nearly all the knowledge of Mirfield is due, considers that the *Breviarium* was written early in the reign of Richard II, so that his record must be taken to apply to this king. But perhaps this conclusion should not be pressed too strictly, as Mirfield does but adopt the words that John of Gaddesden had borrowed from Bernard of Gordon.

In France the healing ceremony underwent no such temporary and partial eclipse, as seems to have occurred

¹ British Museum, Harleian MS. 3, fol. 36. col. 1. l. 32 et seq.

² Ibid., fol. 35. col. 1.

in England, for Raoul des Presles¹ addresses Charles V (1364-1380 A.D.) as follows :

Vos devanciers et vous avez telle vertu et puissance,
qui vous est donnée et attribuée de Dieu, que vous faictes
miracles en vostre vie, telles, si grandes et apertes que
vous garissez d'une très horride maladie qui s'appelle
les escroelles, de laquelle nul autre prince terrien ne
peut garir, fors vous.

Meantime, in France a small addition of ritual appears to have crept into the ceremony. Étienne de Conti, a monk of Corbigny, describes in his History of France,² written in the fifteenth century, the ceremonies observed by Charles VI (1380-1422 A.D.) in touching for the Evil. After the King had heard Mass, a vessel full of water was brought. His Majesty, having said prayers before the altar, touched the sick man with his right hand and washed him in the water. After this the sick man underwent a nine days' fast, as the King had formerly observed a nine days' fast before the healing ceremony that brought the Coronation festival to a close. The use of the water of purification appears now for the first time since the healing by the Confessor.

After Richard II both Chronicles and State Records maintain complete silence on the subject down to the year 1462 A.D. It is a period remarkable, however, for the general scantiness and sterility of its contemporary records. The French war is the only theme that animates such chronicles as these are. There is no doubt that the Black Death, falling as it did with peculiar virulence on the monasteries, did much to sweep away the atmosphere of learning, which in former types had been the very breath of the cloister. Not only was it necessary to replenish the ranks by the admission of a number of

¹ Traduction de la *Cité de Dieu*, dédicace au roi, éd. de 1486, p. 2.

² No. 520 MS. in Library of St. Germain-des-Prés. Diderot's *Cyclopaedia*.

illiterates, but the learned residue was henceforth far more closely occupied in the religious and economic administration of their House. The literary output of the monasteries, under these influences, soon reached its lowest level. The State Records, too, compare unfavourably with the much greater detail of the Edwardian period. In the British Museum is an admirable Household Account¹ of Henry IV for 1405-6 A.D., kept by the Comptroller of the Household. It contains numerous entries of alms distributed to the poor and to the sick poor, by the King's directions, and of money given by himself to poor men, but no specific entries of money for the King's Evil. The detail is less full than that of the Accounts of Edward I-III, and it may be that some of the sick poor were applicants for healing. It is most unlikely that Henry IV, who by right of descent had no just claim to the throne, would have neglected the exercise of that one of the functions of sovereignty that best confirmed his divine right. Thomas of Walsingham² depicts Henry reduced to the necessity of raking up afresh the legend of the Holy Oil, and garbling it to his own ends, in usurping Richard's throne. The Household Accounts, too, of 7 Henry IV show an entry of 25 shillings for the provision of medicinal cramp rings—another ceremony of royal healing. It may then be reasonably inferred that the silence of chronicles and records bespeaks no breach of continuity in the bestowing of the royal touch.

Passing over the short reign of Henry V, so much of which was spent beyond the shores of England, and in which all sound of home is drowned in the tumult of the foreign wars, no clear record can be found till close upon the end of the reign of Henry VI, in the year 1462 A.D., among the literary remains of Sir John

¹ British Museum, Harleian MS. 319.

² *Hist. Anglicana.*

Fortescue. The manuscripts of his writings may be seen in the Cotton Collection at the British Museum. The passage is given in Freind's *History of Physic*, and has been uniformly misinterpreted by writers on the King's Evil since his time. The actual words of Fortescue, taken from his own MS., are these :

Item Regibus Angliae Regali ipso officio plura incumbunt, quae naturae muliebri adversantur, et Regibus Angliae quaedam speciali gratia caelitus infusa sunt quae Reginis ibidem non infunduntur. . . . Reges Angliae in ipsa unctione sua talem caelitus gratiam infusam recipiunt, quod per tactum manuum suarum unctarum infectos morbo quodam, qui vulgo Regius morbus appellatur, mundant et curant, qui alias dicuntur incurabiles. Item aurum et argentum sacris unctis manibus Regum Angliae in die Parascevae divinorum tempore (quemadmodum Reges Angliae annuatim facere solent), tactum devote et oblatum, spasmaticos et caducos curant: quemadmodum per annulos ex dicto auro seu argento factos et digitis huius modi morbidorum impositos, multis in mundi partibus crebro usu expertum est. Quae gratia Reginis non confertur, cum ipsae in manibus non ungantur.

[Many duties likewise are incumbent on the kings of England in virtue of the kingly office, which are inconsistent with a woman's nature, and kings of England are endowed with certain powers by special grace from heaven, wherewith queens in the same country are not endowed. The kings of England at their very anointing receive such an infusion of grace from heaven, that by touch of their anointed hands they cleanse and cure those infected with a certain disease, that is commonly called the King's Evil, though they be pronounced otherwise incurable. Epileptics too, and persons subject to the falling sickness, are cured by means of gold and silver devoutly touched and offered by the sacred anointed hands of the kings of England upon Good Friday, during divine service (according to the ancient custom of the kings of England); as has been proved by frequent trial of rings made of the said gold and silver and placed on the fingers of sick persons in many parts of the world.] This gift is not bestowed on Queens, as they are not anointed on the hands.

The tract from which this passage is taken is entitled ‘Defensio Juris Domus Lancastriae’, and was written in Scotland, where Henry VI had retired into temporary exile after his bloody defeat at Towton. The intention was to disseminate the tract in England, so as to aid in rallying the nation to his cause, when the energetic Margaret had secured sufficient aid to enable him again to take the field against Edward. If writers had read the tract itself, instead of depending on Freind’s extract, it would have been apparent that it could not have been written in the reign of Henry IV, as it refers both to Henry V and Henry VI.

There is another tract among Fortescue’s papers, which seems to have escaped notice in this connexion. It is headed ‘Of the Title of the House of York’, and is written in English, evidently for the native English, as the previous Latin tract was intended for foreigners both in England and abroad. It runs :

‘It seemeth right inconvenient that a woman by right of inheritance should be Queene or soveraigne Ladie of such a realme, and namely of England.

. . . Sithen the Kinges of England ben enoynted in theyre hands, and by vertue and meane thereof God commonlie healeth sickness, by putting to and touching the maladie, by thenontinge hands: and also gould and silver handled by them, and so offred on Good Friday have bene the meane and causes of great cures, as it is knowne, and therefore such gold and silver is desired in all the world. Which good things must needes cease for all the time that a woman were so Queene of that land, because that a woman may not be enoynted in her hands.

In a matter of precedent, the testimony of such a man as Sir John Fortescue, who had held respectively the offices of Lord Chief Justice of the King’s Bench and of Chancellor, should be of the highest value. But this value is to some extent discounted by the fact that

a subsequent tract, written after Edward IV held undisputed possession of the English crown, recants in the most abject and humiliating language the arguments of the above tracts. Fortescue's own memory will have ranged back at least over the reigns of Henry IV, V, and VI, for he seems to have been born in 1394 A.D. His language leaves no doubt that, within the period of his own recollection, there had been no lapse of the royal prerogative of healing. And as he expressly assigns the power to the unction of the hands, which was used, according to the pontifical of Egbert, in the coronation of Saxon kings, he must have conceived of the custom as dating back to times anterior even to the Confessor. There is then the strongest ground for believing that, in spite of the silence of chronicles and records, the ceremony was actually performed, as its efficiency was clearly accepted, in the reigns of these three successive Henries. Curiously an extant *Vita Beati Edwardi Regis et Confessoris*, in Latin verse, by an unknown author, is dedicated to Henry VI, at whose request it was written. It describes in detail the healing of the scrofulous woman, but says nothing whatever of the transmission of the gift to subsequent kings, nor of its exercise by Henry VI.

No records are forthcoming of touching either by Edward IV or Richard III. Without doubt the number of applicants had shrunk during the fifteenth century to insignificance; this is borne out by the careful numerical records of the succeeding reign. But Edward IV, no more than Henry IV, could afford to discard a warrant of sovereignty hallowed by centuries of tradition. An entry of 25 shillings for gold and silver cramp rings may be seen in a *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edwardi IV*, but no mention of touching. His proficiency at any rate failed to find recognition in Scot-

land, for we find Bishop Elphinston,¹ founder of King's College, Aberdeen, when on an embassy, before his elevation to episcopal dignity, from James III of Scotland to Louis XI, denying the gift of healing to any but the King of France. He addresses Louis as

Francorum rex invictissime, qui inter mortales principes solus liquore sacraris caelesti, solus, Dei sine controversia dono peculiari, branchum foedum atque perniciosum morbum solo manus curas attactu.

[Unvanquished King of the French, who alone among mortal rulers art consecrated with oil from heaven, alone by the singular gift of God, as all admit, dost cure a foul and deadly disease by the touch only of thy hand.]

Philip de Comines says that Louis XI touched for the Evil once a week, and always confessed before doing so.

Henry VII was the first king, after this century or more of comparative neglect, to restore the ceremonial to its pristine dignity. With no just title to the throne by descent, and too proud to accept the crown as a mere king-consort, Henry spared no pains to fortify his position by other means. To throw lustre on himself, as a scion of the House of Lancaster, he even sought to canonize the pious imbecility of his Lancastrian predecessor, Henry VI. The requisite miracles were forthcoming, wrought at his shrine, but Pope Alexander VI was not minded to place a halo on 'the meek usurper's holy head'. It is said that Henry's thrifty soul shrank from the requisite expenditure of 1,500 gold ducats—the least amount that would satisfy the legitimate expectations of a horde of greedy menials, on so important an occasion. Thus minded, it is no matter for surprise that he should have desired to popularize a ceremonial which, in the eyes

¹ Hector Boethius, *Vitae Episcoporum Aberdonensium*, Paris, 1522, fol. xx. p. 2, and fol. xxii. p. 2.

of the common people at least, stamped him as being the Lord's Anointed. He was not a man to bestow money needlessly, and the fact that he seemingly initiated the practice of giving to each applicant a golden Angel, a current coin of the value of 6s. 8d., is some measure of the value he set upon it.

It is important to consider briefly the origin of the Angel, because, in spite of the generally accepted tradition, it suggests the possibility that its bestowal on the sick may have been initiated by Edward IV and merely revived by Henry VII. It must, however, be admitted frankly, that this is a mere surmise, supported only by the vaguest of evidence.

The Angel¹ was first ordered to be struck by Edward IV in 1465 A.D., but it does not seem to have been absolutely minted till 1470 A.D. Its name is derived from the figure, on the obverse, of the Archangel Michael piercing the dragon, surrounded by the words, 'Edward'. Dei-Gra'. Rex-Angl. Et-Franc.' On the reverse was a ship, with mast in the form of a Cross surmounted by sunrays, and surrounded by the legend, 'Per Crucem Tua'. Salva-Nos-Chr'-Redempt.' [By thy Cross save us Redeemer Christ.] The words were borrowed from the Sarum Breviary: the complete response was 'Per Tuam crucem salva nos, Christe Redemptor, qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxisti et vitam resurgendo reparasti, Alleluia!'. This is the first appearance of this legend on the coinage, and suggests an association with the ceremony of healing. There is, however, nothing to confirm this conjecture in the original warrant for its minting. Henry VI, during his brief restoration in 1470-71 A.D., Edward V, and Richard III, all issued an almost identical Angel. On succeeding to the throne, Henry VII,

¹ See Plate facing p. 90.

in his first issue of 1485 A.D., retained the same Angel, with the essential modifications, but also issued an alternative form bearing the legend, 'Jes . Aute-Transiens . Per . Mediu . Iloru.',¹ taken from the Noble of Edward III, which was much used as an amulet in battle. This double issue shows, that from the commencement of his reign Henry VII purposed using the Angel in the ceremony of healing, and considered the legend selected by Edward IV appropriate for such a use. In 1489 he issued a second Angel, with trifling variations, and again with the same alternative legends.

That quaint old herbalist of later days, Nicholas Culpeper, has a jibe at physicians anent the Angel, that like Balaam's ass, they will not speak till they have seen an Angel—an habitual fee.

The low ebb which the healing ceremony had reached may be gauged by a reference to the Accounts of Henry VII in the State Paper Office.² The appended record is taken from the latter part of the reign, when the extra inducement of the dole should have already made itself felt.

Account Book of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber, 15-18 Henry VII. [Week ending] 26 Oct.
15 Henry VII

	s. d.
Itm for heling of two seke folkes	13 4
Do. 22 Nov. 15 Henry VII	s. d.
Itm for helyng of a seke body	6 8
1-6 March. 15 Henry VII	s. d.
Itm for heling of two seke folkes	13 4
11-16 July. 15 Henry VII	s.
Item for helyng of iii seke folkes	20
[The following week]	s. d.
Itm for helyng of a sekeman	6 8
[Week ending] 11 March. 17 Henry VII	s. d.
Itm for helyng of ii seke folkes	13 4
Do. 20 May. 17 Henry VII	s. d.
Itm for helyng of ii seke folkes	13 4

¹ St. Luke iv. 30.

² Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer's Accounts, $\frac{4}{3}$.

Thus in twenty-one months no more than thirteen persons were touched for the Evil, but it will be observed that the term 'healing' has already displaced the older term 'touching'.

Polydore Vergil,¹ the Italian, who came to live in England in 1502 A.D., and wrote his English History during the reigns of Henry VII and VIII, testifies to the exercise of the rite in his day and traces its pedigree back to the Confessor. He writes:

Solebat Rex Edovardus divinitus solo tactu sanare strumosos, hoc est, strumam patientes: est enim struma morbus, quem Itali scrophulam vulgo vocant, a scrophis quae ea mala scabie afflictantur, id est humor, in quo subtus concretae quaedam ex pure et sanguine quasi glandulae oriuntur, ac plurimum per pectus et guttur serpit. Quod quidem immortale munus, iure quasi hereditario, ad posteriores reges manavit: nam reges Angliae etiam nunc tactu, ac quibusdam hymnis non sine caerimonii prius recitatis, strumosos sanant.

[King Edward by God's grace used by his mere touch to heal strumous folk, that is, those suffering from struma: for struma is the disease that Italians commonly term scrofula, from pigs, which are very subject to that malady: it is a humour in which certain deep-seated glands composed of pus and blood swell up, and which extends widely over the chest and throat. This imperishable gift has indeed descended by right of inheritance as it were to the kings since his time: for even now the kings of England cure strumous persons by touch after the singing of a service and the recital of certain ceremonies.]

By unanimous consent the introduction of a set ceremonial of healing has been ascribed to Henry VII. Unquestionably, however, the elements of his ceremonial existed in embryo long before his day. A blessing there was, and a dole of one penny from the King to each person touched, at least as far back as Edward I, while Bradwardine in the time of Edward III speaks of

¹ *Historia Anglicana*, lib. viii.

prayers and of the ceremony being held in places of worship. He also speaks of laying on of hands, which presumably signifies placing the hand on the seat of disease; and various writers attest that the person healed was signed with the sign of the Cross. The growth of the printer's art naturally led to these inchoate elements assuming a fixed and stereotyped form. What Henry did was to elaborate these elements into a set Office, adapting its form to the presentation of the Angel. The evidence of Henry's handiwork is partly negative, in that no earlier form is extant, and partly positive, but for all that hearsay. In 1686 A.D., when James II was striving to lead back the erring nation to the Roman Catholic fold, the King's Printer issued two volumes, slightly different in form, entitled 'The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be Diseased with the King's Evil used in the Time of King Henry VII'. This proves at any rate that the Office reproduced was that attributed in the time of James II to Henry VII, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary it is reasonable to accept the tradition as correct. Again, in 1722 A.D. Beckett¹ wrote, 'And perhaps it may not be unworthy our observation, that Henry VII, who my Lord Bacon takes notice was a great observer of religious forms, seems to have been the first of our kings that established such a particular form of ceremonies, as have been lately used.' This statement receives some confirmation from the form of the Service itself, the outline of which is clearly adapted to the presentation of the golden Angel. The Office of Henry VII is here reproduced:

[British Museum. 3407. c. and 6. b. 10.]

The Ceremonies for the healing of them that be Diseased with the King's Evil, as they were practised in the time of King Henry VII.

¹ *A Free and Impartial Enquiry into the Antiquity and Efficacy of Touching for the Cure of the King's Evil.*

¹ First, *The King, kneeling, shall begin and say,*
 In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.
And so soon as he hath said that, he shall say,
 Benedicite.

*The Chaplain kneeling before the King, having a stole
 about his neck, shall answer and say,*

Dominus sit in corde tuo et labiis tuis, ad confitendum
 omnia peccata tua, In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus
 Sancti. Amen.

Or else to say,

Jesus nos exaudiat, In nomine Patris, et Filii, et
 Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Then by and by the King shall say,

Confiteor Deo, Beatae Mariae Virgini, omnibus
 Sanctis, et vobis, quia peccavi nimis in cogitatione,
 locutione et opere, mea culpa. Precor Sanctam Mariam,
 omnes Santos Dei, et vos orare pro me.

The Chaplain shall answer and say,

Misereatur vestri Omnipotens Deus, et demittat vobis
 omnia Peccata vestra, liberet vos ab omni malo, salvet et
 confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducat aeternam. Amen.

Absolutionem et Remissionem omnium peccatorum
 vestrorum, spatium verae poenitentiae, et emendationem
 vitae, gratiam et consolationem Sancti Spiritus, tribuat
 vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. Amen.

This done, the Chaplain shall say,

Dominus vobiscum.

The King shall answer,

Et cum Spiritu tuo.

The Chaplain,

Sequentia Sancti Evangelii secundum Marcum.

The King shall answer,

Gloria tibi, Domine.

The Chaplain shall read the Gospel.

In illo tempore: Recumbentibus undecim discipulis
 apparuit illis Jesus: Et reprobravit incredulitatem
 eorum, et duritiem cordis: quia iis, qui viderant eum
 surrexisse, non crediderunt. Et dixit eis; euntes in
 mundum universum, praedicate Evangelium omni crea-
 turae. Qui crediderit et Baptizatus fuerit salvus erit;
 qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Signa autem
 eos, qui crediderint, haec sequentur; in nomine meo
 daemonia ejicient; linguis loquentur novis; serpentes
 tollent: et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis no-

¹ For English rendering see Form of James II.

cebit: Super aegros manus imponent, et bene habebunt.

Which Clause, Super aegros etc. the Chaplain repeats as long as the King is handling the Sick Person. And in the time of the repeating the aforesaid words, Super aegros etc. the Clerk of the Closet shall kneel before the King, having the sick person upon the Right hand; and the Sick Person shall likewise kneel before the King: And then the King shall lay his hand upon the Sore of the Sick Person.

This done, the Chaplain shall make an end of the Gospel; and in the meantime the Chirurgeon shall lead away the Sick Person from the King.

Et Dominus quidem Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, assumptus est in caelum, et sedet a dextris Dei. Illi autem profecti, praedicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante, sequentibus signis.

*Then the Chaplain shall begin to say again,
Dominus vobiscum.*

*The King shall answer,
Et cum Spiritu tuo.*

*The Chaplain,
Initium Sancti Evangelii secundum Joannem.*

*The King shall say,
Gloria tibi, Domine.*

The Chaplain then shall say the Gospel following:

In Principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: Et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est: In ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum: Et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt. Fuit Homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes. Hic venit in testimonium, ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine, ut omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lux, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.

Which last clause, 'Erat lux vera, etc.,' shall still be repeated so long as the King shall be crossing the Sore of the Sick Person with an Angel Noble; and the Sick Person to have the same Angel hanged about his Neck, and to wear it until he be full whole.

This done, the Chirurgeon shall lead away the Sick Person as he did before; and then the Chaplain shall make an end of the Gospels.

In mundo erat, et mundus per illum factus est, et

mundus eum non cognovit, In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt. Quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine eius: qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt. Et verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis: et vidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratiae et veritatis.

Then the Chaplain shall say,

Sit Nomen Domini benedictum.

The King shall answer,

Ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum.

Then shall the Chaplain say this Collect following, praying for the Sick Person or Persons,

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

The King shall answer,

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, salus aeterna credentium, exaudi nos pro famulis tuis, pro quibus misericordiae tuae imploramus auxilium, ut reddit a tibi sanitatem gratiarum tibi in Ecclesia tua referant actiones. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

This prayer is to be said secretly after the Sick Persons are departed from the King, at his pleasure.

Dominator Domine Deus Omnipotens cuius benignitate caeci vident, surdi audiunt, muti loquuntur, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, omnes infirmorum curantur languores, et a quo solo donum sanationis humano generi etiam tribuitur et tanta gratia pro incredibili tua erga hoc regnum bonitate, Regibus eiusdem concessa est, ut sola manuum illorum impositione, morbus gravissimus foetidissimusque depellatur, concede propitius ut tibi propterea gratias agamus, et pro isto singulari beneficio in nos collato, non nobis ipsis, sed nomini tuo assidue gloriam demus, nosque sic ad pietatem semper exerceamus, ut tuam nobis donatam gratiam non solum diligenter conservare, sed in dies magis magisque adaugere laboremus, et praesta, ut quorumcunque corporibus in nomine tuo manus imposuerimus hac tua virtute in illis operante et nobis ministrantibus, ad pristinam sanitatem restituantur, eam conservent, et pro eadem tibi, ut summo medico et omnium morborum depulsori, perpetuo nobiscum gratias agant: Sicque deinceps vitam instituant ut non corpus solum ab in-

firmitate, sed anima etiam a peccato omnino sanata videatur. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Sancti Spiritus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Beckett contends that the Office of Henry VII is derived from an old manuscript exorcism, which was then to be found in a *Thesaurus Exorcismorum atque coniurationum Terribilium*. He prints this exorcism in one of the Appendices to his *Free and Impartial Enquiry*. As Beckett's volume is not generally accessible, this exorcism is reproduced below. It will be seen to contain the two Gospels of Henry VII's form, and to show some close resemblances to the versicles. It seems probable, however, that more than one mediaeval exorcism conformed more or less closely to this type, for Sparrow Simpson mentions another from the *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum Gregorii Papae XIII, Pont. Max. iussu editum* (4to, Romae, 1584), which contains the same Gospel from St. John and other points of similarity. Still it should be noted also that the Gospels are those proper to Ascension Day and Christmas Day, two of the chief days of healing, while very much of the remainder figures in the Visitation of the Sick, the Communion Service, and other Offices of the Sarum Use.

BECKETT, Appendix VI.

Exorcismus adversus Spiritus immundos.

Exorcista indutus vestibus sacris, pergit ad altare vel ante aliquem imaginem : et praemissa (ut saepius dictum est) sacramentali confessione, corde humiliato et firmo, flexis genibus, seipsum signando, dicat :

In Nomine Sanctissimae et Individuae Trinitatis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

V. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R. *Qui fecit Caelum et Terram.*

V. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

R. *Et Salutare tuum da nobis.*

- V. Adjuva nos, Deus salutaris noster.
 R. *Et propter gloriam nominis tui, Domine, libera nos.*
 V. Nihil proficiat inimicus in nobis.
 R. *Et Filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere nobis.*
 V. Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos.
 R. *Quemadmodum speravimus in te.*
 V. Exurge, Christe, adjuva nos.
 R. *Et libera nos propter nomen tuum.*
 V. Dominus vobiscum.
 R. *Et cum Spiritu tuo.*

Hic Exorcista surgens, dicat Sequentia Evangelia :
 In illo tempore : Recumbentibus undecim discipulis
 apparuit illis Jesus : et exprobravit incredulitatem
 eorum . . . [continued as in *Office of Henry VII*] sequentibus signis.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. *Et cum Spiritu tuo.*

In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud
 Deum, et Deus erat Verbum . . . [continued as in *Office
 of Henry VII*] plenum gratiae et veritatis.

V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*

Oratio.

Domine Jesu Christe, Qui dedisti Apostolis tuis
 virtutem et potestatem super infirmos et languores :
 Ut infirmos curarent : Mortuos suscitarent : Leprosos
 mundarent : Daemones ejicerent : Confirma in me hanc
 gratiam, quamvis indignus, et miser peccator sim. Et
 non respicias ad innumerabilia peccata mea : Sed sicut
 consuevisti peccatorum misereri, et preces humilium
 exaudire, propter magnam misericordiam tuam, ita me
 nunc exaudire digneris : Et sicut exaudisti latronem in
 Cruce ; ita me nunc exaudire digneris clamantem ad te
 contra istum spiritum vexantem hunc famulum tuum
 N. ut in nomine sancto tuo terribili, ipsum expellere
 valeam : Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et
 regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

The effort of Henry VII to breathe life into the dry
 bones of the ancient rite seems to have done but little to
 enhance its popularity during the reign of Henry VIII.
 A brief abridgement of a typical entry from his Privy
 Purse Expenses may serve to illustrate this point.

1530.	Jan. 8 touched 2	1532.	April 2 touched 9
	Jan. 27 " 4 (at York Place)		May 9 " 2
	April 5 touched 4		May 31 " 3
	April 23 " 5		June 13 " 2
	May 26 " 5		June 27 " 1
1531.	Aug. 26 " 1		Aug. 15 " 2
	Sept. 6 " 2		(at Woodstock)
	Sept. 11 " 2		Aug. 27 touched 1
	Sept. 18 " 2		(at King's Langley)
	Sept. 26 " 5		Sept. 17 touched 2
	Oct. 23 " 1		Oct. 8 " 1
			Nov. 11 " 1
			(at Calais)
			Dec. 1 touched 2

Thus a total of 59 persons only was touched in three years. The custom of suspending the ceremony during the hot weather seems to have been already observed in some measure, most of the exceptions to the rule being noted as occurring away from London. Sundays and festivals, too, have ceased to be specially appropriated to the ceremony.

Cavendish¹ has given an account of Cardinal Wolsey's embassy to Francis I in 1527 A.D., which illustrates the greater popularity of the royal touch at the Court of France :

And at his [Francis'] coming into the bishop's palace at Amiens, where he intended to dine with my Lord Cardinal, there sat within a cloister about two hundred persons diseased with the King's Evil, upon their knees. And the King, or ever he went to dinner, provised every of them with rubbing them and blessing them with his bare hands, being bareheaded all the while; after whom followed his almoner distributing of money unto the persons diseased. And that done, he said certain prayers over them, and then washed his hands, and so came up into his chamber to dinner, where as my lord dined with him. . . .

Here there is clear mention of the giving of alms.

¹ *Life of Wolsey*, ed. Singer, 1825, vol. i. p. 104.



HENRI II TOUCHING FOR THE MELLE ROYALE.

From an illuminated *Heures de Henri II*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Meantime, the medical conception of the King's Evil seems to have undergone some modification. Hitherto multiplication and enlargement of glands has constituted scrofula, but to Andrew Boorde suppurating sinuses appear to be the outstanding feature. Here, at least, is the semblance of independent opinion based on clinical observation and experience, however imperfect, in place of blind subservience to authority.

Boorde was medical attendant to Thomas, eighth Duke of Norfolk, Lord President of the Council and uncle of Anne Boleyn, and by him was recommended to the notice of Henry VIII, who employed him much in State business, but not, so far as is known, in a medical capacity. In the *Breviary of Health*, published in 1547 A.D., but written during the lifetime of Henry VIII, it is written :

The 236 Capytle doth shewe of the Kynges evyl. Morbus regius be the latyn wordes. In englysh it is named ye Kinges Evyll, which is an evyl sicknes or impediment.

The cause of this impedimente.

This impediment doth come of the corruption of humours reflectyng more to a particular place than to unyversall places, and it is much like to a fystle for if it be made whole in one place it wyl break out in another place.

A remedy.

For this matter let every man make frendes to the Kynges Majestie, for it doth pertaine to a King to help this infyrmyte by the grace the which is given to a Kynge anoynted, but for as much as some men doth judge divers tymes a fistle or a french pocke to be the Kynges evyll, in such matters it behoveth not a Kinge to medle withal except it be throw and of his bountiful goodness to give his pytiful and gracious counsell. For Kynges and Kynges sonnes and other noble men hath been eximiousse physicians as it appeareth more large-lyer in the Introduction of Knowledge a boke of my makynge beyng a pryntryng with Robert Coplande.

An anonymous writer¹ states that he has in his possession copies of deeds granting to four men about the court of Henry VIII the privilege of remaining covered in the King's presence ; each was exempted from uncovering by reason of being afflicted with the King's Evil.

The Angel of Henry VIII retained the characters of the second issue of Henry VII, but with the single legend, 'Per Cruce'-Tua'-Salva-Nos-Chr-Redet.' On the reverse of his third issue in 1543 was an annulet, which has been found bored in several specimens, as though the coin were intended for suspension. Its value ranged from 6s. 8d. to 8s. at different periods of his reign.

The subjoined Office of Healing appears to have been that employed by Henry VIII.

HENRY VIII AND QUEEN MARY.

THE CEREMONY FOR Y^E HELING OF THEM THAT BE DISEASED WITH THE KYNGES EVILL.

² *First the King, kneeling upon his knees, shall begin and saie,*

In nomine p'ris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amē.

*And so sone as he hathe said that he shall saie
Benedicite.*

*The chaplen, kneeling before the King, hauy'g a stole
abowte his neck, shall answer and saye*

Domin' sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis ad confitenda
ōia peccata tua.

In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti. Amen.

Or ells to saye

Xpūs nos exaudiet. In nomine patris, et filii, et
spiritus sancti. Amen.

Than by and by the King shall saie

Confiteor Deo beate Marie virginī omnibus sanctis
et vobis quia peccavi nimis in cogitaciōē, locutione, et
opera mea culpa. Precor Sanctam Mariam et omnes
sanctos dei et vos orare pro me.

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, i. 208.

² English rendering almost identical with the Form of James II, q. v.

The chaplen shall answer and saye

Misereatur vestri omnipotens deus et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra, liberet vos ab omni malo, saluet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducat eternā. Amen.

Absolutionem et remissionē omniū peccator' vestrorum spaciū vere penitencie et emendacionem vite gratiam et consolationem sācti spiritus tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors dominus. Amen.

This done, the chaplen shall saie

Dominus vobiscum.

The King shall answer,

Et cum spiritu tuo.

The chaplen,

Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum Marcum.

The Kinge shall answer :

Gloria tibi, domine.

The chaplen shall then begin this Gospell following, and saye it forthe until he come unto this clause,

Super egros manus imponent et bene habebunt.

Which clause the Chaple shall so oft repeete and saye as the King is in hanling of y^e sick person.

The Gospel.

In illo tempore Recumbentibus undecim discipulis apparuit illis Jesus et exprobravit incredulitatem eorum et duriciam cordis, q' his qui viderant eum resurrexisse non crediderunt. Et dixit eis, Euntes in mundum universum predicate evāgeliū omni creature, q' crediderit et baptizatus fuerit: saluus erit: Qui vero non crediderit: condēnabitur. Signa autem eos qui crediderint hec sequentur. In nomine meo demonia elicient; linguis loquentur novis: serpentes tollent. Et si mortiferum quid biberint non eis nocebit. [Super egros manus imponent: et bene habebunt.] Et dominus quidem Jesus postquam locutus est eis assumptus est in celū: et sedet a dextris dei: Illi autē profecti predicauerūt ubiq' domino cooperante: et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis.

And in the tyme of repeating those aforesaide wordes,

Super egros manus imponent et bene habebunt.

The clarke of the closett shall kneele before the King hauing the sicke person upon his right hande. And y^e sicke person shall likewise knele before the King.

And then the Kinge shall laye his handes upon the sore of y^e sick p'son.

*This done the chaplen shall make an ende of the Gospell.
And in the meane tyme the clarke of y^e closett shall leade
awaye the sicke person from the King. And then the
chaplen shall begin to saie agayne,*

Dominus vobiscum.

The King shall answer,

Et cum spiritu tuo.

The chaplen.

Initium sancti evangeliū secundū Johēm.

The Kinge.

Gloria tibi, Domine.

The chaplen than shall saie this gospell folowing,

In principio erat verbū.

Untill he shall come unto this clause,

Erat lux vera que illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hūc mundum.

Which clause shall be still repeted so long as the King shall be crossing y^e sore of the sicke person with an angell noble, and y^e sicke person to have the same angell hanged abowte his neck, and he to weare it untill he be full hoole.

The Gospell.

In principio erat verbum; et verbū erat apud deum: et deus erat verbū. Hoc erat in principio apud deū. Oīa p' ipsū facta sūt: et sine ipso factū est nichil. Qd' factū est ī ipso vita erat: et vita erat lux hōim: Et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebre eam nō comprehenderunt. Fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes. Hic venit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine, ut omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lux: sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. [Erat lux vera: q' illuminat omnem hominē venientē in hunc mundū.] In mūdo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eū non cognovit. In propria venit: et sui eum non receperūt. Quotquot autem receperunt eū: dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri: his qui credunt in nomine eius. Qui non ex sanguinibus: neq' ex voluntate carnis, neq' ex voluntate viri: sed ex deo nati sunt. Et verbum caro factum est: et habitauit in nobis. Et vidimus gloriam eius: gloriā quasi vngeniti a patre. Plē gratie: et veritatis.

This done the clarke of the closett shall leade awaie the sick p'son as he did before, and than the chaplen shall make an ende of the gospell, as it is said in the ending of y^e masse, concluding with this saying,

Sit nomen domini benedictū.

*The Kinge shall answer,
Ex hoc nunc et vsq' in seculum.*

*Then shall the chaplē saie this collet following, praying
for y^e sick p'son or p'sons.*

Domine exaudi orationē meam.

*The King shall answer,
Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne deus salus eterna credentium exaudi nos pro famulis tuis pro quibus misericordie tue imploramus auxilium: vt reddita sibi sanitatem: gratiarū tibi in ecclesia tua referant actiōes. Per xp'm dñm nostrū. Amen.

This prayer is to be said secretly, after y^e poore folkes be departed from the King, at his pleasure.

Dominator domine deus omnipotens, cuius benignitate ceci vidēt, surdi audiunt, muti loquuntur, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, omnes infirmorum curantur languores, et a quo solo donum sanationis humano generi etiam tribuitur, et tanta gratia pro incredibili tua erga hoc regnum bonitate regibus eiusdem concessa est, ut sola manuum illorum impositione morbus gravissimus foedissimusq' depellatur: concede propitius vt tibi propterea gratias agam' et pro isto singulari beneficio in nos collato non nobis ipsis, sed nomini tuo assidue gloriam demus, nosq' sic ad pietatem semper exorceamus, vt tuam nobis donatam gratiam non solum diligenter conservare, sed indies magis magisq' adaugere laboremus: et p'sta ut quorumcunq' corporibus in nomine tuo manus imposuerimus, hi tua virtute in illis operante, et nobis ministrantibus, ad pristinam sanitatem restituant eam conseruent, et pro eadem tibi vt summo medico et omniū morborum depulsori perpetuo nobiscum gratias agant, sicq' deinceps vitam instituant, vt nō corpus solum ab infirmitate, sed anima etiam a peccato omnino sanata videatur. Per dominum nostrū Jhesum xp'm filiū tuū q̄ tecū vivit et regnat in vnitate Sancti Spūs. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Finis.

This form of the Office of Healing is unquestionably that used by his daughter Mary, for it is contained in her Manual, which is still in existence. It is, however, phrased for a king and not for a queen, and as it differs

slightly from that of Henry VII, it must have been the form used either by Henry VIII or Edward VI. The internal evidence of this form—the confession to the Virgin Mary, the prayer to her and to the saints to intercede for the King, and above all the Latin dress—savouring rather of a liturgy of Henry VIII than of Edward VI. As a question of probability too, Mary would perhaps have adopted that of her father, rather than that of her brother, for whose Prayer Book she showed even in his lifetime such scanty respect.

A general review of such positive information as has survived would suggest, that the ceremonial of healing possessed no special sanctity and no exceptional importance in the mind of the 'Supreme Head of the Church'. At the same time there can be little doubt that as a consequence of the dissolution of the monasteries, with their associated hospitals, Henry VIII was the indirect cause of the remarkable revival of its popularity in the reign of Elizabeth, only a few years after his death. This is no place to discuss the circumstances of that infamous orgy of spoliation, which has seared with unsightly scars the face of our beautiful motherland; the sole concern of this inquiry is with the influence it exercised on the condition of the sick poor. It is hardly too much to say that in early Tudor times the monasteries represented the only organized effort to bring medical aid within the reach of the sick poor. Many of them actually maintained hospitals within their walls: many controlled and administered hospitals, separate only in their situation: and all dispensed relief in money or in kind to those who sought it at their doors. With the dissolution of the monasteries, the great majority of such religious foundations ceased to exist as active agencies of medical relief, while such as survived distributed charity from a greatly depleted revenue. It is

true that the great secular hospitals arose phoenix-like out of the ashes of the ruined monasteries, but their growth was slow and their sphere of operations largely restricted to the great centres of population, until some two centuries later. So it came, that all at once a horde of sick poor was turned adrift, to find relief for their sufferings as best they might. Besides directly depriving large numbers of sick and indigent of their sole means of support, the dissolution of the monasteries served also to swell the army of the destitute with recruits from the dispossessed tenantry: and sickness is apt to follow hard on the heels of poverty.

Search has failed to bring to light one single positive record of Edward VI having touched for the Evil. Indeed, the question arises as to whether during part or all of his reign the ritual fell into temporary disuse. The absence of records, in a reign of but six years, during much of which the boy-King was disabled by increasing illness, must not be allowed to carry too great weight. Age can hardly have been regarded as a disability: Louis XIII touched two thousand sick at his Coronation, when a boy of only nine years. The coinage of Edward VI does not help to elucidate the question. There was no Angel in his first issue of 1547 A.D., nor in his second issue of 1549 A.D., but in 1550 A.D. he issued one, current at 8 shillings, almost identical with that of Henry VII, but for the necessary change of name. It bore the legend 'Per Cruce'-Tua'-Salva-Nos-Chr-Redet,' but no annulet—for what that may be worth.

Again, no Office of Healing is known that can be attributed to Edward VI. It is of course open to question whether the form used by Elizabeth may not have been used by Edward VI and adopted by her, as she adopted his second Prayer Book. The complete remodelling it has undergone would certainly suggest

the hand of the youthful innovator, rather than that of his less religiously fastidious sister. It is at least certain that Edward would have discarded the Catholic forms of his father and grandfather.

On the other hand there exist at least two affirmative records from writers whose statements merit attention. Holinshed, who, though he wrote under Elizabeth, had lived also in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, says of the Confessor: 'As hath beene thought he was inspired with the gift to prophesie, and also to have had the gift of healing infirmities and diseases. He used to helpe those that were vexed with the disease, commonlie called the King's evill, and left that virtue as it were a portion of inheritance unto his successors the Kings of this realme.'¹ Such a passage could hardly have been written in 1577 A.D. had there been any breach of continuity within the memory of the writer.

Again, Hamon L'Estrange, writing in the year 1659 A.D., says: 'All along King Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth's reigns, when the *strumosi*, such as had the King's Evil, came to be touched, the manner was then for her to apply the sign of the cross to the tumour.'² In spite of the grossly ungrammatical character of the sentence, it is clearly meant to convey that Edward VI did perform the ceremony.

Of Queen Mary much fuller evidence is available. First there is this contemporary letter.³

The next day [Good Friday] she went to bless the persons scrofulous: but she chose to perform this act privately in a gallery where there were not above twenty persons. She caused one of the infirm women to be brought to her, when she knelt and pressed with her

¹ *History of England*, book viii.

² *Alliance of Divine Offices*, ed. 1659, ch. viii, p. 373.

³ Letter from Archives of Venice, M. A. Faitta to Ippolito Chezzuola, London, May 3, 1556.

hands on the spot where the sore was. This she did to a man and three women. She then made the sick people come up to her again, and taking a gold coin—viz. an angel—she touched the place where the evil showed itself, signed it with the Cross and passed a ribbon through the hole which had been pierced in it, placing one of them round the neck of each of the patients, and making them promise never to part with that coin, save in case of extreme need.

This passage shows that Mary regarded the ceremony with peculiar reverence; and this mental attitude is confirmed by the altered legend of Mary's Angel. In her first issue of 1553-4 A.D. she has borrowed from the Psalms¹ the text 'A Dno' Factu' Est Istud Z Est Mirabi'č [It is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes], the terminal cipher being expanded on other coins into 'Ocul Nri'. This Angel of Mary carries annulets on both faces, but it cannot be concluded from this that the annulets were for suspension, for they figure also on Mary's Sovereign and Ryal. In Mary's second issue of 1554 A.D. her name is coupled with that of Philip on the obverse, 'Philip Z Maria D'G' Rex Z Regina A.N': otherwise the character is that of the first issue, but there are no annulets on either side. The beautiful illuminated manuscript Manual of Queen Mary is still in existence, and is a treasured possession of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Westminster. This manual was formerly the property of Cardinal Wiseman, who lent it to Sir Henry Ellis to show at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on February 3, 1853, and a description of it may be seen in their minutes. From Cardinal Wiseman it passed to Cardinal Manning, who allowed the Office of Healing to be copied by Sparrow Simpson and published in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association* (1871 A.D.). The transcript² given above has been made from the

¹ cxviii. 23.

² See page 60.

original by the kind permission of the Cathedral authorities. The manual gives in manuscript both the royal Offices of Healing, that of Blessing Cramp Rings, and that of Touching for the Evil. It also contains three miniatures. One is of Queen Mary blessing cramp rings; the second represents the Crucifixion; while the third shows Queen Mary touching for the Evil. The Queen, wearing the familiar head-dress of her portraits, kneels at a prayer desk, on which is her manual open. Before her kneels a stripling boy, whose swollen neck the Queen clasps between her hands. Behind him in a black cassock and gown kneels the Clerk of the Closet, with tonsured head, holding open the collar of the boy's coat. On the left stands the chaplain reading the service. He is old and bald-headed, and wears a long cassock and a short surplice with sleeves: about his neck is a stole, as the rubric ordains. The Queen's dress is brown, cut square at the throat, with white sleeves, and a lace ruff and wrist-bands. A minute description of the manual itself is given in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*.

The imposition of both hands, and directly to the part affected, was the practice among the Tudor sovereigns, and Mary at any rate could trust her fingers to thread the Angel becomingly in public. Her male successors on the throne, and seemingly Elizabeth as well, preferred to perform this detail of ritual by proxy and in private.

To the reign of Elizabeth belongs the first systematic treatise on the King's Evil. It is written in Latin by Dr. William Tooker, Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, in which capacity he was constantly present at the ceremonial of healing: subsequently he became Dean of Lichfield. His book was written in 1597 A.D., and is entitled *Charisma: Sive Donum Sanationis*, but has an alternative sub-title sufficiently voluminous to present a



QUEEN MARY TOUCHES A SCROFULOUS BOY
From *Queen Mary's Manual*. (Library of the Roman Catholic
Cathedral, Westminster.)

brief résumé of the treatise itself. The book seems from the first to have been difficult to obtain, for André Laurent, physician to Henri IV, was unable to procure a copy only a few years after its publication, while in 1684 A.D. John Browne refers to it as a rare book. Copies, however, may be seen in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries. It opens with a long-winded and fulsome letter of dedication to Queen Elizabeth, in which he enlarges in extravagant language on her marvellous power of healing. The first five chapters are devoted to a discussion of the nature of the gift and to tracing its history. The sixth chapter introduces a subject, on which for centuries controversy has waxed warm between English and French writers, as to whether the gift of healing had been bestowed on the kings of each country, and which country had been first to receive the gift. The French claimed its bestowal on Clovis on the day of his joint coronation and baptism in 496 A.D., but Tooker, without disputing the claim, boldly refers the British prerogative back to King Lucius, or even to the time when Joseph of Arimathaea is reputed to have brought Christianity to this island. Tooker accordingly concludes that the kings of France received the power as a collateral inheritance from the English kings.

Franciae autem reges (quorum fere totum provinciae iurisdictioni nostrorum regum subiungebantur) aliquam quasi propaginem usumque a nostris regibus huius muneris traduxere.

[But the kings of France (nearly the whole of whose provinces were subjugated to the jurisdiction of our kings) received the gift for their use, by sprig of inheritance, as it were, from our kings.]

This proposition clearly cannot be maintained, for indisputable records of healing scrofula by touch of the French kings exist many years prior to either Henry II or Edward III of England.

Tooker conceives the power to be conferred on the sovereign at his or her coronation: 'sanandi gratiam et regnandi gloriam ipso unctionis et inaugurationis momento adepta est' [she received the gift of healing and the glory of reigning at the very moment of her anointing and inauguration]. Tooker recites a story of Elizabeth healing a prisoner who, though a Roman Catholic, candidly admitted that the bull of excommunication had not deprived the Queen of the gift, in order to prove that the espousal of Protestantism caused no break in the continuity of its effectiveness.

The seventh chapter affords some insight into the necessary preparations and the mode of conducting the ceremony in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Fixed seasons of healing have ceased to exist, and occasions seem to have been variously prompted¹ by the Queen's inclination, by divine direction, and by the importunity of the applicants or of their patrons. Every one is permitted to present himself, subject only to his being afflicted with the Evil. Even the wealthy are admitted, if the case has been pronounced incurable by other means. No such restriction attaches to the poor, who have only to be deprived of every earthly physician, 'ab omnibus medicis mundi destitutus.' The sufferers give in their names to the royal Chirurgions, who in turn submit the list to the Queen. She appoints a day, commonly a Sunday, but it may be a feast-day or indeed any other day. She also selects some place of worship for the ceremony, which may be within the precincts of the royal palace, and would then presumably have been St. Stephen's Chapel in the ancient Palace of Westminster. During the summer months, however, Elizabeth retained the custom of not touching at the Court.²

Meantime the royal Chirurgions are required to

¹ *Charisma*, ch. x.

² Proclamation, March 25, 1616.

examine each patient carefully, to assure themselves that the disease is really the Evil, and to prevent imposture. If the disease presents any revolting feature, they are instructed to cover it with some inert plaster, so that the Queen may not be disgusted at the sight of it. The day arrived, if it be Sunday, the ceremony is taken along with Morning Service, after the ordinary prayers and the Gospel and Epistle for the day have been read. The Queen attends in state, seated and surrounded by her nobles, while the sick are ranged on their knees before her. Then the service proceeds according to the form set out hereunder. The Office is here given in English, as it almost certainly was, though Tooker gives it in Latin along with the rest of his treatise. It was indeed a crucial point with the Reformers that the language of public worship should be the vernacular of the worshippers.

Elizabeth's Office presents considerable differences from its predecessors. The initial prayers are omitted, no doubt with the purpose of excluding the prayer and confession to the Virgin and Saints, that figure in Mary's Office. There are also alterations in the rubric directions, but the Gospels are unchanged.

Modifications of the succeeding versicles and responses may be noted, and the Lord's Prayer replaces the prayer, 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus,' which is transferred, in a slightly altered version, to the end, to replace the prayer, 'Dominator domine deus,' said by the King after the sick had departed. The rubrics show that Queen Elizabeth adhered to the custom of laying her hands on the actual site of disease.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE OFFICE OF HEALING.

[*The Chaplain shall read the Gospel written in the XVI of St. Mark at verse 14.*]

Jesus appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and cast in their teeth their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen that he was risen again from the dead. And he said unto them: Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these tokens shall follow them that believe: In my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall drive away serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them: They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

While these words are repeated, her most serene Majesty lays her hands on each side of them that are sick and diseased with the evil, on the jaws, or the throat, or the affected part, and touches the sore places with her bare hands, and forthwith heals them: and after their sores have been touched by her most healing hands the sick persons retire a while, till the rest of the ceremony is finished: then the Chaplain makes an end of the Gospel. So then when the Lord had spoken unto them he was received into heaven, and is on the right hand of God. And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with miracles following.

[*The Chaplain shall then say the second Gospel written in the first chapter of John.*]

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by it, and without it was made nothing that was made. In it was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. There was sent from God a man, whose name was John: The same came as a witness to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe: He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of

that light. That light was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

[*At which words Her Majesty rises, and as each person is summoned and led back singly, and receives a golden coin of the value of ten shillings, bored and slung on a ribband, she makes the sign of the cross on the part diseased: so with a prayer for the health and happiness of each and with a blessing, they are bidden to retire a while till the rest of the gospel is finished.*] He was in the world and the world knew him not. He came among his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them he gave power to be made sons of God, even them that believed on his name, which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. And the same word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we saw the glory of it, as the glory of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth.

[*When this is ended, Her Majesty, along with the whole congregation, meekly kneeling upon her knees, prays as follows.*]

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

M. O Lord save thy servants.

R. *Which put their trust in thee.*

M. Send unto them help from above.

R. *And ever more mightily defend them.*

M. Help us O God our Saviour.

R. *And for the glory of thy name's sake deliver us, be merciful unto us sinners for thy name's sake.*

M. O Lord hear our prayers.

R. *And let our cry come unto thee.*

[*These common prayers being ended, there followeth a special prayer, that is not found in the Book of daily Prayers, yet is above all things needful.*]

Almighty God the eternal health of all such as put their trust in thee, hear us we beseech thee on the behalf of these thy servants for whom we call for thy merciful help, that they receiving health, may give thanks

to thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord : and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you and remain with you always. Amen.

Elizabeth's devotional bearing provides an inspiring theme for Tooker's pen :

Quoties ego vidi serenissimam eius Maiestatem in genua procidentem, toto corpore, menteque adorantem, Deum vero invocantem Christoque Saluatori supplicantem pro talibus : quoties vidi illam per pulchris manibus, et dealbata nive candidioribus, audaciuscule absque ullo fastidio, non summis digitis tangentem, sed prementem et contrectantem salubrius et apostemata eorum, et ulceram : quoties vidi ipsam quasi seipsam defatigantem, cum uno die in parascue paschatis superioris triginta octo strumosos curaret.

[How often have I seen her most Serene Majesty prostrate on her knees, body and soul wrapt in prayer, calling upon God and beseeching the Saviour Christ for such as these : how often have I seen her with her exquisite hands, whiter than whitest snow, boldly and without disgust pressing their sores and ulcers and handling them to health, not merely touching them with her finger-tips : how often have I seen her worn with fatigue, as when in one single day during the preparation for the last Passover she healed eight and thirty persons of the struma.]

This sounds but little like the Elizabeth of later days, and it is of these that Tooker writes.

Patients come from all parts of the country :

ex agris ac pagis, ex municipiis, ex hac urbe Londino, ut coram eius Maiestate se sisterent. Quod ego vidi audiique e Borealibus partibus, et agro Eboraceno, e locis Maritimis, ex Australi, occidentali, orientalique parte regionis huius insulae frequentes accurrisse, ex ambabus Academiis, et celebrioribus regni provinciis omnibus convenisse.¹

¹ Ch. viii.

[from country places, from towns, from this city of London, to range themselves before her Majesty. I have often seen and heard of their coming from Northern districts and from Yorkshire, from places by the sea, from south, west, and eastern parts of this island, from both Universities, and from all the more populous shires of the Kingdom.]

Tooker asserts that the enthusiasm of the sick was astonishing, and that they were fully confident of recovering their health, and he testifies of his personal knowledge that such was often the case :

alios confestim, alios celerius, nonnullos tardius ad longiorem temporis intercapedinem quam plurimos ad optimum corporis temperatum et habitum valetudinis perpetuum sanos et salvos pervenisse.

[some at once, some more, some less quickly and after a longer interval, most of them arrived safe and sound at an excellent state of body and a permanent condition of good health.]

Tooker tells a noteworthy story of the country folk flocking to Elizabeth for healing, during one of her progresses through Gloucestershire, and gives her words :

utinam, utinam possem vobis opem et auxilium ferre : Deus, Deus est optimus et maximus medicus omnium, ille, ille est Jehovah sapiens ac sanctus, qui opitulabitur vestris morbis, ille comprecandus est.

[would, would that I could give you help and succour : God, God is the best and greatest physician of all : he, he is Jehovah, wise and holy, and he will relieve your sickness : to him you must pray.]

Perhaps it is on the strength of this story that Beckett asserts that Queen Elizabeth relinquished the practice at one period of her reign : manifestly it need not carry this interpretation. John Browne¹ states, without giving his authority, that before quitting the place she admitted to a general Healing.

¹ *King's Evil*, book iii.

Dr. Stubbe,¹ of Stratford-on-Avon, evidently had something of the kind in his mind, when he wrote:

Queen Elizabeth did for some time discontinue the Touching for the King's Evil, doubting either the Success or Lawfulness of that way of Curing. But she soon quitted that Fit of Puritanisme, when the Papists defamed her, as if God had withdrawn from her the gift of Healing in that manner, because she had withdrawn herself from the Roman Church.

Really Elizabeth's words are no more than an alternative rendering of the legend of her Angel, 'A Dno' Factum Est Istud Et Est Mirabi'. The Gold, according to Tooker, was in no sense an amulet, but merely a symbol of commencing recovery of health and a token of holy charity. With the Gold the Queen made the sign of the Cross over the affected part. Elizabeth's Angel varies from the first issue of Mary only in the change of name and in some trifling details. It has, however, no annulets. It was current for 10s., except between 1561 and 1572 A.D., when it represented 6s. 8d.

William Clowes, one of her Majesty's surgeons and Surgeon also to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and later Serjeant Surgeon to James I, affords some indication of the nature of the diseases presented to Queen Elizabeth for cure. His official position, in virtue of which he personally examined all applicants for the touch, gives a special value to his testimony. In 1602 he wrote 'A Right Frutefull and Approved Treatise for the Artificiall Cure of the Malady called in Latin Struma, and in English, the Evill, cured by Kinges and Queenes of England'. He gives no exact definition of what he includes under Struma, but he quotes with approval Paulus of Aegina, who speaks of it as seated 'in the fore part of ye necke and under the Chin: also on the sides of the cheekes, and sometime spreadeth itself upon the brest, and under

¹ *The Miraculous Conformist*, 1666.

the Arme-pits and Groynes, and also do sometimes possesse the great Vaines and Arteryes, called Carotides', and he also speaks of it as a swelling of the glands, which was liable to suppurate and break down into ulcers. Probably then most of the patients submitted to the Queen were suffering either from glandular tumours or from ulceration consequent on their suppuration.

Clowes corroborates Tooker's statement as to the large number of applicants for healing: 'a mighty number of her Majestyes most Loyall subjects and also many strangers borne are daily cured and healed, which otherwise would most miserably have perished.'

Clowes's treatise is drafted on the conventional lines of the day. (i) Medicinal treatment, which may be either internal or external. Purgatives play the leading part among internal remedies. External treatment comprises measures for promoting resolution or maturation, and healing by the royal touch. (ii) Surgical extirpation by caustic, cautery, or knife.

One of his records has such a modern ring that it is worth studying in his own words. It was a condition of deep and extensive ulceration of the neck, that he had treated in vain for twelve or thirteen months:

For which cause he went his wayes, and came no more unto mee for any cure: but by the counsaile of some of his own countrimen and friends, made meanes (unknown to me) unto other of my fellowes the Queenes Majesties Chirurgeons, which are in place of preferment before mee, who pitying his miserable estate, upon a time (amongst many others) he was then presented unto our most Sacred and Renowned Prince the Queen's most excellent Majesty, for the cure of the said Evill: which through the gift and power of Almighty God, by her Grace's only meanes, laying of her blessed and happie handes upon him, she cured him safely within the space of five monthes. . . . so afterwards upon a time I did meeete with him by chaunce in London, but I did

not well know him, his Colour and complexion was so greatly altered and amended: And being in very comely manner attired, otherwise than before I had seen him, and he tolde me who he was: Then I asked him how he did with his grieve; he answered me 'I thank God and the Queen of England, I am by her Majesty perfectly cured and healed: and after Her Grace had touched me, I never applyed any medicine at all, but kept it cleane, with sweete and fresh cleane cloathes, and now and then washed the sore with white Wine; and thus all my grieves did consume and waste cleane away. And that I should credit him the more he showed me the Angell of golde, which her Majesty did put about his neck. . . . And here I do confidently affirme and steadfastly believe, that (for the certaine cure of this most miserable Malady) when all Arts and Sciences doe faile, Her Highness is the only Daystarre, peerless and without companion :

and if any one glance cursorily at the medley of noxious applications and destructive manipulations, from which the disease then suffered at the hands of surgery, he will at least appreciate the comparative superiority of the innocuous royal handiwork.

A letter from one Laneham,¹ in which it is said that Elizabeth touched nine persons for the Evil during her entertainment by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle in 1575 A.D., shows that she touched in the earlier as well as in the later years of her reign. Tooker's *Charisma* drew from André Laurent, first physician to Henri IV, an angry rejoinder in the publication of his work *De Mirabili Vi Sanationis* in 1609 A.D., as part of his *Treatise on Scrofula*. The frontispiece, which is here reproduced, shows Henri IV in the act of healing. Laurent scoffs at Tooker's assertion that the gift of healing scrofula was bestowed only on the English kings, and that the French kings acquired it from them by sprig of right. He accepts as proof positive the legend of Clovis receiving the gift on the day of

¹ Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.



Frontispiece of Laurentius's *D. Mirabilis*

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HENRI IV TOUCHING FOR THE MELANCHOLIA.
Library of Royal College of Surgeons, London.

his Coronation, and rejects the tradition that would assign it to the prayer of St. Marcoulf. He admits that Edward the Confessor cured a case of scrofula, but not that the power was granted to his successors. Laurent maintains that the power to heal scrofula is a gift of God to the French kings, to them and to them only. As first physician to the King it was Laurent's duty to examine the applicants medically, to see if their disease really was the Evil, and subsequently to present them one by one to the King. He writes accordingly with full knowledge of the details of the ceremonial. The usual seasons for healing were Easter, Whitsuntide, All Saints' Day, and Christmas Day : but other festivals were also utilized as occasion demanded. Whitsuntide was the most favoured season, for which Laurent quaintly submits two explanations : that at this season the Holy Spirit might be expected to pour out His healing grace in most abundance ; and a less spiritual reason, that the fine weather and calmness of the sea rendered travel by land or sea the easier.

The sick folk came not only from France, but from Spain, Flanders, Germany, Lombardy, and various parts of Italy. Every year as many as five hundred Spaniards sought the royal touch. Even in the time of Henri IV (1589-1610 A.D.) as many as fifteen hundred sick persons would be admitted to a single Healing.

The King prepared himself by attending vespers on the eve of the ceremony, and sometimes also prayers before dawn on the day of healing, to propitiate the Almighty. In the morning he humbly confessed himself with full devotion, heard Mass, and received the Holy Sacrament. This done, while the full fervour of the Eucharist was upon him [*'tanti sacramenti participatione igne charitatis totus ardescens'*], he betook himself to some open space, where the sick could be

conveniently ranged, kneeling in rows wide enough apart¹ for three or four persons to move freely abreast between them. The Spaniards by established custom always occupied the front rows: next to them knelt the other foreigners, while the French, with characteristic courtesy, themselves brought up the rear.

First the royal physicians and surgeons passed along the rows, examining each individual in turn to assure themselves of the character of the disease, and also to exclude any counterfeit beggars, in search of alms. If any such were discovered, they were ejected amid loud cries from the assembled people. At the King's approach the sick all raised their clasped hands to heaven and uttered loud prayers, as they threw themselves at the King's feet.

The clasping of the hands was almost certainly a precautionary measure, and perhaps more rigidly enforced after the surreptitious murder of Henri III in 1589 A.D., by the Dominican monk, Jacques Clement, with a knife concealed in his sleeve. Half a century later each patient was searched to see that no weapon, with which to harm the King, was concealed about his person [*'Interea exacta sit investigatio, an cuiquam eorum culter sit, forfex, vel aliud quidpiam, quo laedere Regem possit, et quicquid huius generis est, removetur'*²]. François Ravaillac had then added the murder of Henri IV to the crime of Jacques Clement.

Ménin³ in his account of the Coronation ceremonies of Louis XV says that the Duke of Harcourt held the clasped hands of each sick person during the touching.

Soldiers of the body-guard preceded the bare-headed King; Princes of the blood and high dignitaries of the Roman Church attended him; while the Grand Almoner

¹ Morhof, *Princeps Medicus*.

² Ibid.

³ *Traité historique du Sacre et Couronnement des Rois et des Reines de France*, 1723.

followed on behind them. The King offered up a silent prayer to God, made the sign of the Cross, and approached the sick ['Sequitur Rex nudo capite devote orantem gestibus repraesentans'].¹ Passing behind each row the first physician took the head of each sick person between his hands and presented it to the King, who, opening his hand, first drew it downwards from forehead to chin, and then transversely from cheek to cheek, so as to make the sign of the Cross, saying the while 'Le Roy te touche, et Dieu te guérit' to each in turn.

Following the touch, the Grand Almoner gave each his dole, bidding him pray for the King. When all had been touched, the King bade them farewell and departed.

It is uncertain what dole was given by Henri IV and his predecessors, but Louis XIV gave 30 pence to each foreigner, and 15 pence to each Frenchman. This seems to have been regarded variously as *viaticum*, or as a mere memorial of the ceremony. None of the sanctity of the healing Angel of England attached to it.

Laurent affirms that in some cases the most serious disease was immediately alleviated; in others the ulcers dried up rapidly; in others still, the tumours underwent speedy diminution: so that out of a thousand no less than five hundred would be cured in a few days.

It is said that Henri IV had not always showed such reverence for the ceremonial: at Ivry, as he cleft down a man with his sabre, he ejaculated, 'Le Roi te touche, que Dieu te guérisse.'

The chief contrast with the English ceremonial lies in the far greater sanctity attaching to the personality of the French king: the whole ritual converges to this idea, all else is subordinate to this. This sacrosanct

¹ *Traité historique du Sacre et Couronnement des Rois et des Reines de France*, 1723.

conception of the King is essentially of Gallo-Roman origin, and is but dimly reflected in the more human image of the Anglo-Saxon and English sovereignty. So too is the close association of the Healing Ceremony with the sacred unction of the Coronation, the King becoming king in fact only when he had duly exercised all the power and prerogatives of the kingship.

When James I came out of Scotland to take up his English throne, he was anxious to discontinue the practice of touching, expressing disbelief of the transmission of the power from the Confessor. His ministers who accompanied him from Scotland did not hesitate to stigmatize it as a superstition. His English advisers, however, were well aware of the peculiar value set upon it in the southern kingdom and urged that to relinquish it would rob the crown of a portion of its dignity. In the end prudence triumphed, and James gave way, so far as outward compliance, saying, however, that he fully expected to be condemned for countenancing the superstition. Two documents in the Public Record Office serve to show his disposition towards the ancient ceremonial, and as such are perhaps worthy of citation. The essential parts of the first document,¹ which consists of extracts from letters sent from London on October 8, 1603 A.D., and which are now in the Archives of the Vatican, are as follows :

Cavato da lettere di Londra d' 8^o d' Ottobre 1603.⁴

. . . Il Re s' abbia questi giorni intricato in quello ch' haveva di fare intorno di certa usanza anticha delli Rè d' Inghilterra di sanare gl' infermi del morbo Regio, et cosi essendogli presentati detti infermi nella sua ante-camera, fece prima fare una predicha per un ministro Calvinista sopra quel fatto, et poi lui stesso disse che se trovava perplesso in quello ch' haveva di fare rispetto,

¹ Roman Transcripts, General Series, vol. 87.

² Archivio Vaticano : Inghilterra.

che dell' una parte non vedeva come potessero guarire l' infermi senza miracolo, et qia li miracoli erano cessati et non se facevano più: et così haveva paura di commettere qualche superstitione, dell' altra parte essendo quella usanza anticha et in beneficio delli suoi sudditi, se risolveva di provarlo, ma solamente per via d' oratione la quale pregava a tutti volessero fare insieme con lui, et con questo toccava alli infermi. . . . Si notava che quand' il Re faceva il suo discorso spesse volte girava l' occhi alli ministri Scozzesi che stavano appresso, com' aspettando la loro approbatione à quel che diceva, havendolo prima conferito con loro. . . .

[Extracted from letters from London of October 8, 1603.¹]

At this time the King began to take interest in the practice pertaining to certain ancient customs of the kings of England respecting the cure of persons suffering with the King's Evil. So when some of these patients were presented to him in his ante-chamber, he first had a prayer offered by a Calvinist minister, and then remarked that he was puzzled as to how to act. From one point of view he did not see how the patient could be cured without a miracle, and nowadays miracles had ceased and no longer happened: so he was afraid of committing a superstitious act. From another point of view, however, inasmuch as it was an ancient usage and for the good of his subjects, he resolved to give it a trial, but only by way of prayer, in which he begged all present to join him, and then he touched the sick folk.

It was observed that when the King made this speech, he several times turned his eyes towards the Scotch ministers around him, as though he expected their approval of what he was saying, having first conferred with them.]

The second document² discusses at length the attitude of James towards the Catholics, the conference with the Puritans, and other matters. The King was proclaimed Head of the Church in his kingdoms with

¹ Vatican Archives: England.

² Roman Transcripts, General Series, 88. 8. 11.

the sound of the trumpet, and an oath was taken by every official recognizing him as such : and all this in spite of the King, on his first coming to England, having made these three requests :

1^{ma} di non esser servito con i ginnochii à terra (come si facea alla defonta Regina) dicendo, che tal riverenza era piu presto debita à Iddio, che à gl' Huomini [not to be served on bended knee (as was done to the deceased Queen), seeing that such reverence was more due to God than to man].

2^a di non toccare le scrofole, non volendosi vanamente arrogare tal virtù e divinità di potere col solo tatto guarire le malaitie [not to touch for scrofula, not wishing to arrogate vainly to himself such virtue and divinity, as to be able to cure diseases by touch alone].

3^a che il titolo di Capo della Chiesa, che e del solo Christo, non si attribuisse a lui [that the title of Head of the Church, which belongs to Christ alone, should not be attributed to himself].

James's qualms of conscience and intellectual misgivings assort ill with the full-blooded assurance of the words that Shakespeare, some three or four years later, puts into the mouth of another Scotch king, anachronisms and all.

Malcolm. 'Tis called the Evil :
 A most miraculous work in this good king :
 Which often since my here-remain in England,
 I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven,
 Himself best knows : but strangely-visited people,
 All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
 The mere despair of surgery, he cures ;
 Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
 Put on with holy prayers : and 'tis spoken
 To the succeeding royalty he leaves
 The healing benediction.¹

A letter² from Mr. Povy to Sir Dudley Carleton suggests that, though James had capitulated from prudential motives, he was not particularly impressed

¹ *Macbeth*, Act iv. Scene 3.

² *Court and Times of James I.*

with the solemnity of the ceremony. It refers to the request of the Turkish Ambassador, who was in England in 1618 A.D., that James would touch his son for the Evil; 'whereat His Majesty laughed heartily and as the young fellow came neare him, he stroked him, with his hande, first on the one side and then on the other: marry without Pistle or Gospell.' Sir John Finett,¹ Master of the Ceremonies to James I and Charles I, adds the additional detail 'using at it the accustomed ceremony of signing the place infected with the crosse, but no prayers before or after'. Now, as will be seen, Povy was almost certainly right and Finett wrong in their respective descriptions of the scene.

In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries is a Broadside, assigned to the probable date 1618 A.D., and inscribed, 'Hum. Dyson. tempore Jacobi Regis,' which gives the service of Healing used by James I. It is identical with that found in a Book of Common Prayer² of 1634 A.D., which must be regarded as the form of Charles I. The form is here appended:

JAMES I AND CHARLES I.

BROADSIDE. The Property of the Society of Antiquaries, and in
BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. 1634. [Br. Museum 3406. f. 5.]

The Gospel written in the XVI of Marke.

Jesus appeared unto the eleuen as they sate at meat, and cast in their teeth their unbelieve and hardnes of heart, because they believed not them which had seene that he was risen againe from the dead. And hee said unto them, Goe ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to all creatures: Hee that beleeueth and is baptizid, shall be sauod: but hee that beleuueth not shall be damned. And these tokens shal follow them that beleue: In my name they shall cast out deuils, they shall speake with new tongues, they shall driue away

¹ *Philoxenis*, p. 58.

² British Museum 3406. f. 5.

serpents, and if they drinke any deadly thing, it shal not hurt them: *They shal lay their hands on the sicke, and they shal recover.* So then when the Lord had spoken unto them, hee was receiued into Heauen, and is on the right hand of God. And they went fourth, and preached euerywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with miracles following.

The Gospel written in the first of S. John.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by it, and without it was made nothing that was made. In it was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shineth in the darknes, and the darknes comprehended it not. There was sent from God a man, whose name

Repeate the same
as often as the King
putteth the Angel
about their neckes.

was John: *ȝ same came as a witnes to beare witnes of the light. That Light was the true Light, which lighteth Euery man that commeth into the world.*

He was in the World, and the World was made by him, and the World knew him not. He came among his owne, and his owne receiued him not. But as many as receiued him, to them gaue he power to be made sonnes of God, euen them that beleueed on his Name, which were borne, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. And the same Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and wee saw the glory of it, as the glory of the onely begotten Sonne of the Father, full of grace and trueth.

Lord haue mercie upon us.

Christ haue mercie upon us.

Lord haue mercie upon us.

Our Father which art in heauen, halowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heauen. Giue us this day our dayly bread, And forgiue us our trespasses, as we forgiue them that trespassse against us, And lead us not into temptation.

Answere.

But deliuer us from euill. Amen.

Minister.

O Lord sauе thy seruants.

Answere.

Which put their trust in thee.

Minister.

Send unto them helpe from aboue.

Answere.

And euermore mightily defend them.

Minister.

Helpē us o God our Sauiour.

Answere.

And for the glory of thy Names sake deliuē us, be mercifull unto us sinners for thy Names sake.

Minister.

O Lord heare our prayers.

Answere.

And let our crie come unto thee.

Almighty God the eternal health of all such as put their trust in thee, heare us we beseech thee on the behalfe of these thy seruants for whom we call for thy mercifull help, that they receiuing health, may giue thanks to thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The peace of God which passeth all understanding, keepe your hearts and minds in the knowledge, and love of God and of his Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remaine with you alwayes. Amen.

This Office is an attenuated form of that used by Queen Elizabeth, and introduces also some definite modifications of practice. It contains no instruction at all as to actually touching the sore place, so that the abandoning of this detail of ritual may presumably be referred to James. In later life, when James himself became the victim of persistent illness, he exhibited in like fashion an almost unnatural repugnance to the outward manifestations of disease. Again, there is no direction in the

rubrics as to making the sign of the Cross with the gold coin over the sore place, as Elizabeth had done. This was certainly an innovation of James I, and is referred to by Hamon L'Estrange:¹ 'which raising cause of jealousies, as if some mysterious operation were imputed to it, that wise and learned King not only (with his son the late King) practically discontinued it, but ordered it to be expunged out of the prayers relating to that cure: which hath proceeded as effectually, that omission notwithstanding, as it did before.' Heylyn² further confirms the fact of this discontinuance of the sign of the Cross, round which a good deal of controversy has ranged. He says, 'as to the sign of the crosse made by the Royall hands on the place infected, there is no such crossing used in that sacred ceremony, the King only gently drawing both his hands over the sore at the reading of the first Gospel.' Rejected now, the signature of the Cross was not revived until the reign of James II, neither Charles I nor Charles II employing it. Wiseman,³ who was Serjeant Surgeon to Charles II, removes all doubt on this head, by his words, 'What would he now say were he living and had seen it done by three Generations of Kings without the sign of the Cross ?'

Small alterations in the Angel of James I reflect the sceptical bent of his mind. The Cross that stood on the ship's mast in Elizabeth's Angel is omitted. The legend also is contracted from 'A Domino factum est istud et est mirabile' into 'A Domino factum est istud'. This omission of 'et est mirabile' [and it is marvellous] is assuredly purposive, for it continues to figure on his other gold coins, which were not used at the ceremony

¹ *Alliance of Divine Offices.*

² *Animadversions of Fuller's Church History*, ed. 1659, p. 147.

³ *Chirurgical Treatises.*

of healing. James issued no Angel at all until his third coinage of 1605 A.D. He seems to have been the first sovereign to have Angels specially minted for Healing in addition to those to be circulated as current coin. A document in the Public Record Office, dated April 10, 1611, is a warrant to the Treasurer and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and shows that 'healing Angels' were specially minted to his order. A similar warrant, dated Sept. 16, 1624, commands the provision of fine gold for the making.

The value of the Angel of James I fluctuated from 10s. to 11s. It is difficult to get specimens of this reign, or of that of Charles I, that have not been bored: the boring of their Angels is very coarse and is evidently designed to admit the white ribbon. The boring of those of Henry VIII, on the other hand, is very minute, and can have carried only a thread by which to attach them to the ribbon.

When in London, the Banqueting House in Whitehall was the place of James's exploits in therapeutics. But, like other sovereigns, he dispensed healing, on occasion, in other parts of the kingdom. Thus in Lincoln Cathedral, after morning service on Sunday, March 30, 1617, James 'healed to the number of 50 persons of the King's Evil':¹ on the following Tuesday, after a sermon by the Chancellor of Lincoln in the Presence Chamber at the King's lodgings in the Priory of St. Catharine's, Lincoln, he again 'did heal fifty-three of the King's Evil'.

Camden, also, in his *Annals* says that 'on All Saints day, 1620, he went to Morning Prayer, he offered and touched for the Evil'.

The earliest of the numerous Proclamations² relating

¹ Nichols, *Progresses of King James I.*

² See Appendix, 'Proclamations'.

to the King's Evil bears the date March 25, 1616, and belongs accordingly to the reign of James I. It draws attention to an increasing disregard for the ordinance of previous sovereigns forbidding access to the Court for healing during the hot weather. It specifically forbids people to come for healing between Easter and Michaelmas, because of the 'danger and inconvenience'.

Subsequent Proclamations clearly show that the anticipated danger lay in infection with plague, which was constantly present in varying degrees of prevalence, until it finally exhausted its virulence in the Great Plague of 1664-1666.

Under Charles I will be found a still further growth in the frequency and the popularity of the touch. Over and above the concomitant increase of pauperism, it may be worthy of note that, as with Henry II so with Charles I, there is the union of an English king with a member of the French royal house, who had long been accustomed to the ceremony at the French Court, and one not likely to forgo any of the prerogatives of sovereignty.

In the early years of his reign Charles's dole to the touched was the Angel—not the current Angel, but 'healing Angels' specially minted for the purpose.¹ These Angels bore the legend 'Amor Populi Praesidium Regis' [The love of his people is the King's safeguard]. Cynics may scoff at the broken reed on which the King elected to lean, or may even deride the insincerity, but be it remembered that though the affection of his subjects failed him in his hour of need, it none the less assured the restoration of his worthless descendants to the throne. The number of these Angels that comes to hand bore attests the frequency of touching in these early years. After 1634 A.D. no more

¹ Public Record Office. Accounts of the Wardens of the Exchange and Moneys within the Tower.



1



2



3



4

1. Angel of Henry VII (gold).
2. Reputed touch-piece of Charles I (bronze).
3. Touch-piece of Charles II (gold).
4. Touch-piece of James II (gold).

Angels were minted: up to this time they had been current at 10s.

As his quarrels with Parliament advanced, and his supplies of money fell short, Charles was put to various shifts. The author of *Xειρέξοχή* says, 'small pieces of Silver was his gift, for alas he could not arrive to others, 'twas not the golden Age with him.'

John Browne¹ states that Charles, when a prisoner at Hampton Court, put over a woman's neck 'a Silver Two pence, strung in a white Silk Ribband', and he adds, 'All people which did here [Hampton Court] come to be touched had only silver given to them.' Another of Browne's records is of Sir John Jacob sending his daughter to Holmby House to be touched. Sir John sent his own gold with her, and Charles hung this round her neck, with a result that left nothing to be desired in the matter of efficacy.

The commonly accepted opinion, that Charles II was the first to use a medalet as a touch-piece, must be rejected in the light of the further knowledge that has been recently acquired. In the British Museum is a bronze medalet² about the size of the touch-piece of Charles II. It has on the obverse a hand stretched out over four human heads, with the words 'He touched them'; on the reverse a rose and thistle under a crown, with the words, 'And they were healed.' This was formerly believed to be a seventeenth-century trade-token, but Henry Symonds³ has brought forward evidence to show that in all probability it is a touch-piece of Charles I. In 'the accounts of the Wardens of the Exchange and moneys within the Tower, 1625-1649' he notes under date 1635-6: 'Allowance of a payment to the chief

¹ *Charisma*, ch. x.

² *Medallic Illustrations*, Plate 33, No. 23.

³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.

graver for making tokens used for the healing of the King's Evil, and delivered to William Clowes, serjeant chirurgeon, at 2*d.* the piece: the number being 5500.¹ Henry Symonds possesses one of these medalets bored with a large hole.

Wiseman,¹ who served with the royalists as a surgeon in the Civil War, says that Charles sometimes touched without giving anything at all.

The large number of King's Evil Proclamations issued in this reign bears eloquent testimony to the capricious and restless activity with which Charles managed and mismanaged his affairs. These Proclamations are set out at length in the Appendix, and will only be cited here in so far as they establish fresh departures of practice.

The Proclamation of June 18, 1626, fixes Easter and Michaelmas as seasons for healing in the future. It also requires of each applicant a certificate, under the hand of the Clergyman and Churchwardens of his parish, testifying that he has not been previously touched for the Evil by the King. Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other officers are charged not to allow any one to pass but such as have this certificate; and to ensure publicity the order is to be affixed in every market town.

Many Proclamations simply reaffirm previous ones. Several order postponements on account of plague or smallpox.

A Proclamation of July 28, 1635, requires the certificate of the Clergyman and Churchwardens to be countersigned and sealed by one or more Justices of the Peace. This was clearly intended to make the coming of unsuitable cases more difficult. The certificate was to be a passport, and Crown officers were again directed to send back any not so provided. And to obtain even

¹ *Chirurgical Treatises: King's Evil.*

greater publicity than before, the Proclamation, besides being publicly exposed in every market town, was to be read in every Church, twice a year, at Shrovetide and Bartholomewtide.

By a Proclamation of July 1, 1638, fixed times were prescribed for healing, fourteen days before and after Easter and Michaelmas respectively. Access to the King for healing during his Progresses was forbidden. A further certificate of examination by one Physician and one Surgeon at least was demanded, because persons had come for cure who were not suffering from the Evil. The Churchwardens of each parish were instructed to see that the Proclamation was permanently exposed in the Church. Besides these official Proclamations unofficial orders were also issued, as occasion arose. Thus under date of Sunday, March 26, 1643, the *Mercurius Aulicus* says that Charles had an order posted on the gates of the Court, and on all the posts and passages into the city of Oxford, forbidding any to come to be touched till the following Michaelmas.

A Book of Common Prayer of 1634¹ affords incontestable evidence of the form of the Office of Healing used by Charles I: it is identical with that of James I transcribed above from a Broadside in the Society of Antiquaries. It is placed at the end of the book in company with the ceremonies for consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. The book has the impression that many of the Proclamations carry: 'Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill.'

How the Office of Healing first found its way into the Book of Common Prayer, and by what authority it maintained its position for a century, has never been explained. Lathbury² asserts that it was never even

¹ British Museum 3406. f. 5.

² *History of Convocation.*

discussed by Convocation. From this he argues that the clergy were not believers in the tradition of the royal touch. This is a bold contention in face of the fact that two Archbishops of Canterbury, Bradwardine and Sancroft, and many Bishops, such as Bull and Howson, and all the leading Church Historians, to wit Fuller, Collier, Harpsfield, and Heylyn, publicly stated their belief. It is true that in the early Middle Ages the Church zealously resisted any encroachment on its exclusive gift of healing, but with advancing years this claim lapsed insensibly. The Church Historians speak with no uncertain voice. Fuller¹ says, 'If any doubt the cures, they are remitted to their own eyes for further confirmation,' and he prays 'that if it be the will of God to visit me with the aforesaid malady, I may have the favour to be touched of his majesty, the happiness to be healed by him, and the thankfulness to be grateful to God the author, and God's image the instrument of my recovery'.

Collier says,² 'To dispute the matter of fact is to go to the excess of scepticism.' Harpsfield³ says, 'strumosos sanandi admirabilem dotem in posteros suos Anglorum reges, ad nostra usque tempora [Edoardum] transfudisse et perpetuâsse, merito creditur' [It is justly believed that Edward transmitted the marvellous gift of healing scrofula to his descendants on the English throne, right down to our times, and in perpetuity].

It will be well here to trace in outline the Office in later issues of the Book of Common Prayer. Lathbury says that he has seen it in a Prayer Book of 1661 A.D. In the following year, 1662⁴ A.D., the Office is placed in the body of the Prayer Book between a Commination Service and the Psalms. In Prayer Books of Queen

¹ *Church History*, vol. i.

² *Ecclesiastical History*.

³ *Historia Eccles. Anglicanae*.

⁴ British Museum 3406. e. 2.

Anne's reign it usually stands before the Thirty-Nine Articles at the end. It occupies the same position in the first Oxford Prayer Book of George I, 1715 A.D. Probably the printer retained it, because he had received no instructions to omit it, making the necessary alterations for a king on his own authority. The service also appeared in later editions of 1719¹-1721 and 1728 A.D., and in the Latin Liturgy as late as 1744 A.D.²

So late as 1637 A.D. the King's Ministers are found jealously safeguarding the prerogative of the Crown. In October of that year Mr. Serjeant Clowes appears on the scene again, arraigning one James Leverett, a Chelsea gardener, before the Privy Council, for undertaking to cure the King's Evil by stroking. The Privy Council, in turn, referred the investigation of the charges to the Royal College of Physicians, instructing them also 'to cause him to make experiment of his said Cures in their presence'.³ The following is the summary of charges, duly attested by witnesses, that Clowes subsequently presented to the President and Censors of the College and certain other co-opted Fellows :

1. He blasphemously saith when he stroketh any to cure them, there goeth out of him so much virtue and strength, that he doth not recover it in so many days, to the great dishonour of God.

2. He scornfully slighteth his Majestie's sacred gift of healing (by his blessed hand) that Disease commonly called the King's Evil, in comparison of his cure, to the dishonour of his Majesty amongst his Subjects.

3. He saith he cannot touch any (to heal them) untill he find a disposition to it, by the working of one of his hands, and that hand must not be touched by any hand, except it be to put a Pipe of Tobacco or an Angel into it.

4. He saith the Sheets wherein he hath layen are a special remedy for many Diseases (especially the rising

¹ Library of Royal College of Physicians.

² *Notes and Queries*, Series III, vol. i. p. 388.

³ Goodall, *College of Physicians*, &c.

of the Mother) and that many Lords and Ladies have made suit to lie in them, and to my knowledge they have been try'd to no purpose.

5. He saith that he goeth in fear that the Physicians and Surgeons of London will murther him, and dare scarce drink with any man for fear of poisoning, for which he is the more followed.

6. He hath contemptuously used his juggling tricks since he was before the Lords of the Council convicted as a Delinquent.

7. Since great Lords and Ladies and Gentlemen and rich men have fondly gone unto him, whereof many of them to my own knowledge are blushingly ashamed, yet if it may appear and be proved by any man, That any man, this man, the 7th Son, or any Son can doe it, I think it not fit that his Majestie's Royal Person should be troubled and his health endangered by such unwholsome and noisome people, as many of them be, when it may be done by any other.

All these things before written have been credibly reported to me by honest men, of very good credit, who have been abused by him, and are ready to testifie upon their oath if it shall be required: and I conceive it to be my duty and office to call it to examination, which I leave to your grave and learned considerations.

And rest at your service,
W. Clowes, Serjeant Surgeon to his Majesty.

Such was the substance of the charges, that the Officers of the College of Physicians set themselves patiently to investigate, at several meetings. Persons reputed to have been cured were interviewed, and selected cases were submitted to Leverett for healing, but by each test he was weighed and found wanting. It was proved, too, that he had said that he was 'weakened more by touching 30 or 40 in a day, than when he digged 8 rods of ground in a day', and 'that if he touch a Female, he is much more weakened'. One Edward Pate asserted that Leverett had scoffed at his folly in transferring his child to the King for healing. Some further light is thrown on the

alleged murderous proclivities of the slighted profession of medicine, for Leverett stated that while dwelling at Ratcliff he was assaulted in the highway one evening by some 'surgeons or physicians', and his thumb was wrung and strained, and that he went in daily fear of his life from some 'physicians and surgeons'. It reads as though the surgeons had done the actual damage, though the physicians had been successful in inspiring the more lasting fear. In the judgement chamber Leverett appears to have dropped the claim to be a seventh son, for Clowes had thoughtfully armed himself with a copy of the Parish Register, showing him uncontestedly to be a fourth son. This superstition, that the seventh son—or more exactly the seventh son, without any daughter intervening, of a seventh son—had a special power of healing scrofula, persisted over several centuries, and was rife at least in France and Holland, as well as in Great Britain and Ireland.

In the end the College of Physicians presented a detailed report to the Privy Council, in which they adjudged Leverett a mere impostor.

There are many scattered records of the royal handiwork of Charles I, not only in London, but also in other parts of the kingdom. For example, when the Court was resident at Durham Castle¹ in 1633 A.D., 'he did touch divers persons for the King's Evil.' In the same year on St. John's Day Charles went to Holyrood Chapel 'and² there solemnlie offred, and after the offring heallit 100 persons of the cruelles of Kyngis evill younge and old'. He also seems to have granted special and apparently private healings by special request. A letter from Sir William Russell to Endymion

¹ Sykes, *Local Records*, vol. i. p. 88.

² *New Statis. Acct. of Scotland*, vol. xv. p. 85.

Porter,¹ dated Dec. 22, 1629, asks him to use his good offices to procure an early occasion for his nephew to be touched by the King. The keenness of the applicants for healing is attested by the fact that in 1643 A.D. they actually printed a humble petition to the King to revive the Healings in London, that had been in abeyance during his long absence in Oxford.²

As the conflict between the royalist and republican factions rose steadily to a climax, so the ceremonial of healing acquired greater and greater importance, as evidence of the King's divine right. Records henceforth become correspondingly abundant and highly coloured. The very large proportion of the records of actual cures, that belong to the time when Charles was a prisoner in the hands of the Parliament, suggests that some at least of the applications may have been directly purposive.

A little volume called 'Χειρεξοχή or The Excellency or Handywork of the Royal Hand', published in 1665 A.D., gives an account of Charles I curing the Evil in the ten-year-old daughter of an Anti-royalist at Lord Salisbury's house at Hatfield, 'which was done by special Grace and Favour in one of the Gardens, towards the Evening.' She began to improve at once, and subsequently was touched a second time, to the perfect cure of her blindness. The authorship of this book is uncertain. Beckett ascribes it to Dr. Thomas Allen, a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the College of Physicians, but it has also been attributed to Dr. Harris, Burgess for St. Albans in the Parliament of 1661. The Churchwardens' Accounts of the parish of Ecclesfield, Yorkshire, for 1641, contain the following entry: 'Given to John Parkin wife towards her travell to London to

¹ *Lives of the Lords Strangford*, by De Fonblanque, p. 57.

² Cox, *Parish Registers of England*.

get cure of the Evill which her son Thom is visited with all, o. 6. 8.'

Aubrey¹ relates that when a prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle, Charles cured a woman of the King's Evil in her eye, 'who had not seen in a fortnight before, her eyelids being glued together.'

Among the records of cure given by John Browne in his *Charisma* are eighteen cases cured by Charles I. Several of these are cases of blindness, and most of the rest of running sores with no distinctively strumous symptoms about them. The association of ocular disease with struma was at this time considered to be far closer than is now thought to be the case. It is difficult to trace the confusion to its source; but so early does it appear in English medicine, that it is tempting to refer it back to the miracles of healing blindness by the Confessor, which in the numerous existing 'Vitae' are habitually ranged side by side with his cure of the scrofulous woman. If the power of healing scrofula was to be venerated as a special gift of God, obviously it would be necessary to find some other explanation for exploits of healing in other fields, or to gather them all up into the single category of scrofula. In this way nearly all diseases of the eye came to be regarded as manifestations of struma. That functional blindness, blepharospasm, and photophobia may all be associated with struma will be universally conceded, but not with such frequency as to explain satisfactorily the very numerous cases of so-called 'blindness' submitted to 'the touch'. Peck² records a characteristic case of this type, that of Elizabeth Stevens of Winchester, who had 'not seene with that eye of above a month before. After she had received the touch with full ritual, she exclaimed: "Now, God be praised! I can see of this sore eye".'

¹ *Miscellanies*, ed. 1784, p. 175.

² *Desiderata Curiosa*, 1779.

Among the achievements of Charles I, the cure of John Cole, publican, as related to Charles II, the Duke of York, and John Browne by John Nicholas, Warden of Winchester College, takes pride of place. This man, whose neck was riddled with open sores, endeavoured to obtain the touch of King Charles as he was passing, a prisoner, through Winchester on the way back from the Isle of Wight. The escort, however, would not allow him to approach the King, and Charles could only gratify his importunity with the prayer, 'God bless thee, and grant thy desire.'

Disappointed of his hope, the sick man fell back again on the use of a lotion recommended to him by a Salisbury apothecary. But, lo and behold! his disease began to mend, and at the same time 'the Bottle became scabbed in its sides, and many Botches appeared in it'. The cure was complete and persisted till some woman's curiosity prompted her to try and pick some of the botches off the bottle, when a brief relapse set in. Such was the tale attested with all solemnity by the reverend Warden, and duly recorded for the edification of posterity by John Browne, Surgeon to Charles II and to St. Thomas's Hospital. The bottle, as may be judged, was an object of great local notoriety, and no doubt brought much incidental custom to the house, though mine host, John Cole, showed himself chary of submitting his relic to the curious gaze of the vulgar.

Whitelocke¹ has preserved a record of some interest relating to the time when Charles was a prisoner at Holmby House. Under date April 22, 1647, he writes:

Letters informed the great resort of people to the King to be cured of the King's Evil. Whereupon the House ordered a Declaration to be drawn to inform the people of the Superstition of being touched by the King

¹ *Memorials of English Affairs*, ed. 1732, p. 244.

for the Evil.... And a letter of thanks ordered to the Commissioners at Holmby.

Parliament could deprive Charles of his crown, it could rob him of his life, but it was powerless to arrest his gift of healing. In a letter in the Bodleian, dated 1712 A.D., Dr. Hickes writes to Hearne, that he had found on inquiry that there was no doubt that the daughter of an Oxford apothecary, named Martin Lippiard, had been cured of the Evil by Charles I, when a prisoner at Holmby House. Many cures also are said to have been wrought by handkerchiefs and cloths dipped in the blood of the Royal Martyr at his execution. Both Browne and Wiseman bear witness to this. The blood of Louis XVI was gathered in like fashion by the Paris mob, and effected miraculous cures. Perhaps they recalled the handkerchiefs and aprons, that had touched the body of the Apostle Paul, and their wonderful power of expelling evil spirits.

There is a tract in the British Museum entitled, 'A Miracle of Miracles wrought by the blood of Charles I upon a Mayd at Dettford, four miles from London, 1649,' which details the cure of a girl of blindness due to the King's Evil: her eyes were merely touched with a handkerchief stained with the royal blood. Hundreds of the curious came daily from London and other places to see her.

In the Shetlands,¹ as late as 1838 A.D., a few crowns and half-crowns bearing the effigy of Charles I were still used, in default of the royal touch, as remedies for the Evil: as such they had been handed down from generation to generation.

In spite of the increasing vogue in England of the royal touch, there is little doubt that in the reigns of James I and Charles I the numbers did not yet

¹ Black, *Folk-Medicine*.

approximate to the totals that were habitual in contemporary France.

At his Coronation in 1610 A.D., Louis XIII¹ touched 800 persons. In 1611 A.D. he touched some 600 in April, 1,400 in May, and 450 in September. In 1613 A.D. he touched 1,070, and on July 22, 1616, he touched 1,066: so says his own physician. Even these numbers were exceeded by Louis XIV, who at his Coronation touched no less than 2,600 persons in the Abbey Park of St. Remi.

During the Commonwealth the ceremony was necessarily in abeyance. Parliament had already, during the life of the late King, pronounced its disapprobation of this truckling with superstition. In spite of the assertion of John Browne, there is no vestige of evidence of Cromwell having attempted to exercise the gift. He writes:²

I do humbly presume to assert that more souls have been healed by His Majesties Sacred Hand in one year, than have ever been cured by all the Physicians and Chirurgions of his three kingdoms ever since his happy Restauration. Whereas should an Usurper or Tyrant surreptitiously, by Pride and Bloody Massacre, forcibly enter the Royal Throne and touch at the same experiment, you'll never see such happy success; as tryed by the late Usurper Cromwell in the late Rebellious Times.

Charles II, however, kept the ceremonial alive during his years of exile, as Francis I had done during the time of his captivity in Spain.³

During his flight from Worcester, while at the house of Mr. Whitgrave, at Moseley, Charles's nose bled and he wiped the blood with the handkerchief the Pendrells had given him. Father Hudleston gave him a clean one

¹ *Journal d'Héroard.*

² *Charisma*, ch. vi.

³ Laurentius, *De Mirabili Vi Sanationis.*

in its stead, and handed the blood-stained handkerchief to his kinswoman, Mrs. Braithwaite, who subsequently used it for the cure of the King's Evil. Even on foreign soil there was no lack of applicants, and a regular exodus of patients took place from these shores in quest of the royal touch. John Browne says that 'There was a Scotch Merchant, who made it his business every Spring and Fall to bring people from Scotland and Newcastle, troubled with the Evil, to the King wherever he was in his troubles: as at Brussels, Breda, Bruges, Antwerp, and the like'. Sir William Lower confirms this statement in detail. D. G. Morhof¹ states, on the authority of the German History of Caesius, that Charles II, in the last thirty-six days of his stay in Belgium before the Restoration, touched as many as 260 sick persons. The ceremony was carried out with full rites. L'Estrange prints at the end of his *Alliance of Divine Offices* 'A Form of Prayer used in King Charles the Second's Chapel, upon Tuesdays, in the Time of his Trouble and Distress. Hague anno MDCL'. This service, intended primarily to commemorate the execution of Charles I, which was on a Tuesday, includes also a form of prayer 'At the Healing'. But for a syllable of variation here and there in the rubrics, the form is identical with that given in a Book of Common Prayer of 1662 A.D.², and is that which was used throughout the reign of Charles II, and which is reproduced hereafter. Morhof says that the ceremony was performed with full ritual, and with the additional use of water for cleansing the King's hands:

Peractis his sollennibus, accedebant comes Middlesexiensis et Comes Albanus, polubrum cum gutturnio eodem, quo aegroti accedebant ritu, Regi offerentes. Comes Albanus infundebat manibus Regis aquam, et

¹ *Princeps Medicus*, 1665.

² British Museum 3406. e. 2.

mantile a Nobili quodam sibi traditum offerebat Middlesexiensis.¹

[After the service was ended the Earl of Middlesex and the Earl of St. Albans, approaching the King with the same ceremony as did the sick, offered him a basin and ewer. The Earl of St. Albans poured water on the King's hands, and the Earl of Middlesex presented a towel that was handed to him by another nobleman.]

Charles had almost certainly adopted this detail from the French practice, which he must have frequently seen performed, when Louis XIV touched for the Evil at Versailles. No allusion to it is forthcoming till the reign of Louis XVI, but as it did not form part of the actual ceremonial, such a detail may well have escaped mention. Edward the Confessor had used water, so had Charles VI of France, but in each case the water of purification was used for the washing of the sick man. Then it was a religious rite, now it has become a sanitary precaution.

Sir Thomas Browne was one of those who remained faithful to Charles, even in exile. John Browne² gives details of a patient—the child of a Nonconformist—sent by Sir Thomas Browne to Breda to be touched. Nor was this a solitary recommendation of the Royal touch by this learned physician, for several letters³ to his son Dr. Edward Browne survive, in which mention is made of patients availing themselves of the ceremony, and in none of these is there the slightest suspicion of incredulity. It is, perhaps, surprising to find the author of *Inquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors* doing homage to superstitious fancy; but, after all, it is less surprising than the indubitable fact that the same man was also author of the *Religio Medici*. Two works of

¹ *Princeps Medicus.*

² *Charisma*, ch. x.

³ Wilkin, *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*. Letters: May 29, 1679; Oct. 2, 1679; Sept. 22, 1680; June 6, 1681.



HALF CAROLUS OF CHARLES I

one pen more essentially antagonistic, more completely irreconcilable, it is difficult to imagine.

Charles, even in exile, seems to have found some means of supplying the sick with a dole of money, for Caesius says that the coin, whatever its nature, was slung on a white ribbon, and the rubrics of L'Estrange's Form of Healing used in exile assign it the dignity of gold.

More precise information on this head may be derived from a journal of the sojourn of Charles II in Holland, in the spring of 1660, printed in the same year (*Relation, en forme de journal, du voyage et séjour du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, etc. à La Haye*, chez Adrian Vlacy, 1660). It is there stated that Charles used half Caroluses, gold coins of the value of ten shillings. Probably these would have been coins of Charles I, and in confirmation of this the British Museum possesses a bored half Carolus of Charles I.

The steady and gradual increase in the number of applicants for healing, that had its origin seemingly in the economic conditions induced by the dissolution of the monasteries, reached a climax in the years immediately following the Restoration. Several secondary causes contributed also to the same end. The long civil wars must have done much to swell the roll of the destitute and sick. No doubt, too, the King himself would endeavour to encourage the popularity of a ceremonial, the very performance of which asserted that the King's authority was derived from God. It stamped the King at once as the Lord's Anointed, as king by the grace of God and not by the will of his subjects. The successful exercise of the divinely given power by Henry VIII and Charles II showed at least that no degree of personal immorality, however gross, could annul the royal faculty. The religious vicissitudes of

the reigns of Edward VI, of Mary, and of Elizabeth proved that it possessed a vitality superior to that of either creed. And, above all, in the persons of Charles I and Charles II, as in that of Francis I of France, it was made manifest that no deprivation of political power could rob the sovereignty of its hereditary gift. Only a few weeks after the Restoration an entry in the Parliamentary Journal¹ throws some light on another cause of the exceptional increase. It runs :

The Kingdom having been for a long time troubled with the evil, by reason of His Majesty's absence, great numbers have lately flocked for cure. His sacred majesty, on Monday last, touched 250 in the banqueting House : among whom, when His Majesty was delivering the gold, one shuffled himself in, out of an hope of profit, which had not been stroked, but His Majesty quickly discovered him, saying, 'This man hath not yet been touched.'

No less than 600 men were touched at a single healing in the month of June in Restoration year.² The great increase of applicants led to considerable amplification of the regulations controlling the ceremonial. The Parliamentary Journal³ announced that 'His Majesty hath for the future appointed Every Friday for the cure, at which 200 and no more are to be presented to him': but neither was this restriction of numbers nor the appointment of special days ever respected from the first. As a matter of fact, Sunday after Morning Service continued, as in Tudor times, to be the most frequent time of healing. Prior to the reign of Charles II, the medical examination seems to have taken place at the same time as the ceremony, and consequently must frequently have been made within the precincts of the Court. The Ordinances for the management of the household of

¹ July 2-9, 1660.

² *Mercurius Politicus*, June 21-28, 1660.

³ July 2-9, 1660.

Charles II put an end to this undesirable arrangement.
The Ordinances run:

And whereas many infirm people resort for healing to our court, and first for their probation use to flock to the lodgings of our chirurgions within our house (which is not only noysome, but may be very dangerous in time of infection): we command that henceforth no such resort be permitted within our house, but that probation of such persons as are to be brought to our presence be made in other places, without admitting any into the house till the day for healing be appointed by us, and order given for the same by our Lord chamberlaine or vice chamberlaine, who only are to move us therein.

Thus the medical examination is relegated to some other place than the purlieus of the Court, and as a consequence is held on a day prior to the healing: while the appointing of appropriate days is placed in the hands of the officials of the household. The Parliamentary Journal¹ indicates the due compliance of the surgeon with this Ordinance. Applicants

are first to repair to Mr. Knight, the King's surgeon, being at the Cross Guns in Russell Street, Covent Garden, against the Rose Tavern, for their tickets. That none might lose their labour he thought fit to make it known, that he will be at his home every Wednesday and Thursday, from two to six o'clock, to attend that service: and if any persons of quality shall send to him, he will wait upon them at their lodgings, upon notice given to him.

But amid the eager crush of the sick and of parents, who had staked all that was dear in life on the hazard of this single throw, even these regulations failed to prevent a calamitous loss of life. Evelyn² writes: 'There was so great a concourse of people with their children to be touched for the Evil, that 6 or 7 were crushed to death by pressing at the chirurgeon's doore for tickets.'

Five-and-twenty years later John Browne³ writes:—

¹ July 2-9, 1660. ² *Diary*, March 28, 1684. ³ *Charisma*.

'As the case now is, its harder to approach the Chirurgeon than obtain a Touch.' When himself examining chirurgeon he suggested as a remedy, 'That a place should be appointed in Whitehall or elsewhere in which one Physician and two Surgeons should attend to examine the patients and give them the necessary instructions.' This was in all probability carried out, as were other recommendations of the resourceful Browne, during the last year of Charles's life, though no mention of it is forthcoming till after his death, when a notice appeared in the *London Gazette*¹ :—

Whitehall, Oct. 8. His Majesty is graciously pleased to appoint to heal weekly for the evil upon Fridays ; and hath commanded his Physicians and Chirurgeons to attend at the office appointed for that purpose in the Meuse, upon Thursdays in the afternoon to give out tickets. Hereof all ministers of parishes are required to take notice, and to be careful to register the certificates they grant in a book kept for that purpose.

The Meuse was the name given to the royal stables, situated close to the present site of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. It had originally been the place in which the royal falcons were kept, but when Henry the Eighth's stables in Bloomsbury were burnt down he transferred them to this building, which, however, was not rearranged for the accommodation of horses until long after his death. The name, which is a corruption of 'The Mews', survived the transformation, and has passed into the currency of metropolitan parlance.

Application could not be made to the surgeon without presenting the certificate of the Minister and Churchwardens of the sick person's parish, vouching that he had never before been touched. In the *Charisma*, which was probably written in the summer of 1683 A.D., Browne made two suggestions with regard to the

¹ Oct. 7-11, 1686.

medical examination: (i) That the Parish certificate should carry a statement from the local medical man, that the malady was the King's Evil; this, he urged, would do much to prevent fruitless journeys. (ii) That the Chirurgeon in Waiting should keep an alphabetical register of those coming to be healed so as to prevent applicants taking advantage of a change of residence to come a second time for the sake of the gold. There is no sufficient evidence as to whether these recommendations were carried into effect. There is, however, evidence that, if kept, the register was ineffectual, for the Rev. Mr. Vickers, writing about 1717, says that he was touched twice by Charles II and three times by James II.

As to the Parish certificates a good deal of information is available. The original order for such a certificate was made in the Proclamation of June 18, 1626, and it was frequently reasserted in subsequent Proclamations. By a Proclamation² issued from Whitehall, January 9, 1684, the churchwardens and ministers were ordered to keep a register of these certificates and to investigate carefully each application so as to prevent imposture. Publicity was to be ensured by reading the order to the congregations in all parish churches, and by affixing it in some place where it would be generally seen. The distribution of the Proclamation to the clergy was entrusted to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in their respective provinces. Some ministers clearly took action in this direction on their own account and prior to the Proclamation, for the Register of Merstham, Surrey, has entries as far back as October 6, 1673.

¹ Rev. Mr. Vickers's Pamphlet, *An Easie and Safe Method for Curing the King's Evil, &c.*

² See Appendix, and British Museum 190. g. 13 (187).

Nichols¹ says that in his lifetime there was a printed copy of this Proclamation found and preserved in the vestry of the Church of St. Martin's, Leicester, where the father of the historian, Thomas Carte, was vicar. Actual certificates may be still seen in many Parish Registers. Nichols gives a specimen from the Register of Wadhurst, Sussex :

We, the minister and church-wardens of the parish of Wadhurst, in the county of Sussex, do hereby certify, that Mr. Nicholas Barham of this parish, aged about 24 years, is afflicted (as we are credibly informed) with the disease commonly called the King's evil : and (to the best of our knowledge) hath not heretofore been touched by His Majesty for the said disease. In testimony whereof we have heerunto set our hands and seals, this 23d. day of March. 1684.

John Smith. Vicar.

Robert Longly, } Churchwardens.
Thomas Yonge,

Registered per me, John Smith.

The words 'as we are credibly informed' would seem to indicate an attempt to comply with the spirit, if not the letter, of the Proclamation of July 1, 1638, requiring the additional testimony of a medical man. They cannot well refer to the recommendation of John Browne, for the *Charisma* was not published until the year 1684 was advanced.

Another almost identical certificate is to be seen in the Register of Waterfall, near Leek :

To the King's most excellent Majesty. We, the Minister and Churchwardens of the parish of Waterfall, within your county of Stafford, do hereby certifie your princely Majesty that Alice Smyth, the daughter of Edward Smyth, of Waterfall aforesaid, yeoman, hath not at any time heretofore had the sacred touch of your Sacred Majesty, to the intent to be healed of the Disease called the King's evil : having first carefully examined

¹ *Literary Anecdotes.*

into the truth thereof, as your gracious Majesty of your Royal will and pleasure hath lately commanded us.

Witness our hands the 25th day of October. A^o. Dom^o.
1684 A. D.

Thomas Malbone	Curat. ibi.
Sampson Parks	} Churchwardens.
James O. Berisford (his mark).	

Another entry in the Register of Harewell Chapel, Hertfordshire, is slightly different and indicates only that the requisite certificate had been given :

Sept. 29, 1684. That day made a certificate for Alice, the daughter of Christopher Williams, of this pish for the King's Evell.

My name and seale to it as Minister.
Her Father's as Guardian.

In various Churchwardens' Accounts and Corporation Records are to be found entries of grants of money to patients to enable them to make the journey to the King. The following are from the Records of the Corporation of Preston :

1. The bailiffs ordered to pay 10^s to a bricklayer to take his son to London to be touched. 1684.

2. Ordered to pay 5^s each to certain persons (two women) to go to Chester to be touched. 1687.

In spite of these gratuities, patients who had travelled long distances to London frequently exhausted their scanty means in tedious waiting for the touch. Two records exist of patients crossing the Atlantic to receive the touch. In Browne's list of cures is that of a woman who came from Virginia to be touched, and was healed ;¹ while in the archives of the town of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, is preserved a petition asking the Assembly of that Province, in 1687 A.D., to grant assistance to one of the inhabitants, who desired to make the long journey to England, in order to obtain the royal

¹ Browne, *Charisma*.

touch. Browne also enumerates French, Dutch, Germans, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh as coming to be touched, as well as those from every part of England itself.¹

There is no evidence as to whether the alphabetical register suggested by Browne was ever kept by the examining surgeon, but presumably it would have been, at least as long as Browne occupied that post.

A register of the numbers touched by Charles II at the public healings in London was however kept, first by the Serjeant of the Chapel Royal down to September 1664, and afterwards from May 1667 to May 1682, by the Keeper of the Closet. In the former period of four years, the register shows that 22,982 persons were touched: then followed a suspension of public healings owing to the plague. In the latter period of fifteen years no less than 67,816 were touched, making a total number of 90,798 for the whole nineteen years of active operation. The largest number touched in any single year was 8,577 between May 1682 and April 1683 inclusive. Speaking generally, the largest numbers were touched in the spring months, and the smallest numbers in the summer months, but Charles held midsummer healings, from which for the most part his predecessors had abstained.

It was the duty of the Chirurgions to acquaint those to be admitted to the touch with the time and the place appointed for the Healing: but this method of publication was necessarily inadequate in the case of those who came from a distance. In 1683 A.D. Browne suggested that the appointed days should be published in the *London Gazette*, which had then enjoyed fifteen years of existence, since its first publication at Oxford in 1665 A.D. As has been seen, the attempt to prescribe fixed days and fixed seasons proved a failure. Thus

¹ Graham, *History of United States*, i. 419.

the Proclamation of July 4, 1662, ordained that the times for healing should be 'from the Feast of All Saints, commonly called Alhalloutide, to a week before Xmas, and in the month before Easter': but the official Register shows that public healings were held in every month of that year.

The place for public healings in London by Charles II seems to have been uniformly the Banqueting Hall, but in the summer months they were often held at Windsor, where the Court was in residence.

There were various methods of obtaining a Healing. According to Tooker it was determined in Elizabeth's time either by the importunity of the sick or of their patrons, or by the Queen's fancy. Under Charles II the King, in consultation with the Privy Council, fixed the day and the vice-chamberlain or chamberlain made it known. Private healings were also to be obtained by special request, as they had been under Charles I. The following¹ is an example :

John Dobson to Joseph Williamson, Secretary to Lord Arlington. The daughter of a neighbour of his, a gentlewoman of good stock, whose husband was loyal to the King, had been sick two or three years, and Dr. Barker of Newbury, the best physician in the county, says it is the King's evil. She earnestly desires to be touched by His Majesty: asks if there will soon be an opportunity, or if she could have it done privately.

Sherborne, Hampshire.
24 March 1666.

Browne mentions among his records of cures the private healing of a child patient of his own, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosmo III, describes a private healing with full ceremonial at Newmarket, which he witnessed during his travels in England in 1669 A.D.²

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1665-6*, p. 316.

² *Travels of Cosmo III.*

The day of healing arrived, the sick made their way to the Banqueting Hall: those who could not walk were brought in chairs and flasks.¹ The Chief Officer of the Yeomen of the Guard marshalled the sick so that they should approach the King in regular succession, while the Yeomen of the Guard maintained order among the throng of those awaiting their turn. In a Royal chair beneath a canopy of state sat the King, uncovered and surrounded by his nobles and by other spectators. On his right hand stood the Clerk of the Closet, now the Lord Bishop of Durham: his duty was to store the Gold, and at the ceremony to present the pieces one by one to the King. Beside him stood the Keeper of the Closet, now one Thomas Donkelly, with the gold pieces ready strung and hanging on his arm,² for him to hand one by one to the Clerk of the Closet. It was also the Keeper's duty to preserve an account of the number of pieces used in his Register, countersigned by the Chirurgeon, and to give a receipt for the same to the Exchequer, the Gold being charged to the expenses of the Privy Purse. This Register recorded the day, month, and year of each Healing, but Browne in reproducing it, as an appendix to his *Charisma*, has identified only the months and years. To the right of the Clerk of the Closet stood two Chaplains, one of whom recited the Service, according to the form here appended.

CHARLES II.

From a Book of Common Prayer, 1662 [Br. Museum 3406. e. 2].

The Gospel written in the 16th Chapter of St. Mark beginning at the 14 verse.

Jesus appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and cast in their teeth their unbelief, and hardness of heart, because they had not believed them which had seen that he was risen again from the dead. And he

¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, June 21-8, 1660.

² See Frontispiece.

The Royal Gift of Healing



R. White sculp.

CHARLES II TOUCHING FOR THE KING'S EVIL

Frontispiece of John Browne's *King's Evil*.
(Library of King's College, London.)

said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to all creatures, he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned: all these tokens shall follow them that believe. In my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall drive away serpents. And if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them.

*They shall lay their hands
on the sick and they shall
recover.*

Here the infirm Persons are presented to the King upon their knees, and the King layeth his hands upon them.

So when the Lord had spoken unto them he was received into Heaven, and is on the right hand of God. And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with miracles following.

The Gospel written in the first Chapter of St. John, verse the first :

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word : the same was in the beginning with God, all things were made by it, and without it was nothing made which was made : in it was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shined in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. There was sent a man from God whose name was John, the same came as a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of that Light.

*That light was the true Light,
which lighteth every man which
cometh into the World.*

Here they are presented to the King and the King putteth his Gold about their necks.

He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not : he came amongst his own, and his own received him not : but as many as received him, to them he gave power to be made the sons of God : Even them that believed on his name, which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. And the same Word became flesh and dwelt amongst us, and we saw the glory of it, as the glory of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of Grace and Truth.

The Prayers.

Vers. Lord have mercy upon us.

Resp. Lord have mercy upon us.
 Vers. Christ have mercy upon us.
 Resp. Christ have mercy upon us.
 Vers. Lord have mercy upon us.
 Resp. Lord have mercy upon us.

Then the Chaplains read the Common Prayer, viz., Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily Bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Vers. O Lord save thy servants.

Resp. Which put their trust in thee.

Vers. Send help unto them from above.

Resp. And evermore mightily
defend them.

Vers. Help us, O God our Saviour.

Resp. And for the glory of thy Name
deliver us, be merciful to us
sinners for thy Name's sake.

Vers. O Lord hear our Prayers.

Resp. And let our cry come unto thee.

These an-
swers are
to be made
by them that
come to be
healed.

Then the Chaplain reads this Prayer following:

O Almighty God, who art the Giver of all health, and the aid of them that seek to thee for succor. We call upon thee for thy help and goodness, mercifully to be shewed to these thy servants, that they being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks to thee in thy Holy Church. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Here he concludes: The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

When the Chaplain reached the verse of the opening Gospel 'They shall lay their hands on the sick and they shall recover', the Chirurgions made three obeisances and brought up the sick. The chief Chirurgeon in waiting, standing before the King, placed his hands on the sick person's shoulders, and presented each kneeling, one by one, to the King. The King laid both his hands at once on opposite sides of the face, or on the clothes,¹

¹ Evelyn, *Diary*, July 6, 1660.

according to the site of disease, while the Chaplain repeated the aforesaid sentence at each touching. The second Chirurgeon led back each sick person after he had received his touch, and meantime the Chaplain read the first Gospel to an end. Then followed the second Gospel from St. John as far as the verse, 'He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of the Light.' Here the Chirurgions brought up the sick a second time, again making three obeisances, and the Clerk of the Closet on his knee delivered to the King the gold pieces ready strung with a white silk ribband. Then as the Chaplain read the verse, 'That Light was the true Light, which lighteth every man which cometh into the World,' the Chirurgions again presented the patients to the King, who put the silk band over each patient's head and hung the touch-piece around the neck. This done, the Chirurgions led away the patients as before and the second Gospel was brought to a close. Then as all knelt down, the Chaplains and congregation recited some versicles and responses, followed by the reading of the Lord's Prayer. Then the Chaplain read a concluding prayer and ended with the Benediction.

As soon as the service was finished, the Lord Chamberlain, or in his absence the Vice-Chamberlain, and two nobles brought basin and ewer and a linen towel for the washing of the King's hands. This custom, as has been said, was almost certainly introduced by Charles from France.

At the Healing immediately after the Restoration described in the *Mercurius Politicus*,¹ 'the Duke of Buckingham brought a towel, and the Earl of Pembroke a basin and ewer, who, after they had made obeisance to his majesty, kneeled down till his majesty had washed.' Evelyn² assigns this duty to the Lord Chamberlain and

¹ June 21-8, 1660.

² *Diary*, July 6, 1660.

the Comptroller of the Household: and not the least of the Diarist's merits is his faithful delineation of details. The King then took leave of the people, who returned home filled with expectant gratitude.

Immediately after his Restoration Charles II seems to have used Angels. Evelyn¹ speaks of them as 'Angel-Gold'. They must have been Angels of the previous reign, for none were issued by him.

On September 18, 1660, Charles actually gave a warrant to Thomas Simon to prepare 'Angell-Golde' according to a very elaborate design, a plate of which is given in Vertue's *Medals and Coins of Thomas Simon*.² No example in gold is known, but Miss Helen Farquhar³ has figured the reverse of a thin silver pattern in her possession, which was almost certainly struck by Simon, as a proof. Most probably the costliness of the projected Angel led to its abandonment in favour of the familiar gold touch-piece.⁴ This was a small gold medalet of the value of ten shillings, bearing the figure of St. Michael and the Dragon on the face, and on the reverse a ship surrounded by the legend 'Soli Deo Gloria', indicating that Charles at any rate entertained no illusions as to the power of the sovereign to perform miracles.

In the eyes of some at least the touch-piece possessed no peculiar sanctity, as it was frequently displayed for sale⁵ in the goldsmiths' windows. Some, on the other hand, attached undue importance to it as an essential element of the healing. That eccentric genius, Sir Kenelm Digby, maintained that the gold exercised some magnetic influence: but how he reconciled his belief with the undoubted fact, that cures were wrought both when silver was employed and also in the absence

¹ loc. cit.

² 2nd Edit., Plate XXIX, D, E.

³ *Numis. Chron.*, 4th Series, vol. ix.⁴

⁵ Browne, *Charisma*.

of any token at all, he leaves to the Aristotelian category of $\tau\alpha\ \dot{\alpha}\alpha\pi\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau\alpha$, just as modern physicians assert a peculiar efficacy for bromide of gold, that does not pertain to its alkaline congener. Browne defined the purport of the touch-piece clearly as 'a Token of his [the King's] Sacred Favour, and Pledge of His best desires for them'. Both Browne and Wiseman¹ have recorded cases in which the disease returned on the loss of the Gold, and disappeared with its recovery, and cases also in which the transference of the Gold to another person effected a cure. To many no doubt the value of the gold piece centred in the legend it carried, which served as an amulet, wherewith to work charms.

Whatever the inner man of Charles II may have felt as to the ceremony, he seems, unlike his father's father, to have conducted it always with outward decorum. The *Mercurius Politicus*,² on the occasion of his stroking 600 at one *séance*, says: 'and such was his princely patience and tenderness to the poor afflicted creatures, that though it took up a very long time, his majesty, who is never weary of well doing, was pleased to make enquiry whether there were any more that had not yet been touched.' Pepys³ even is constrained to admit that he 'did it with great gravity', though, *bourgeois* himself to the backbone, he esteemed it 'an ugly office and a simple one'. On an earlier occasion⁴ the King had seemed to be less impressed by the solemnity of the occasion, for Pepys had entered in his *Diary*: 'staid to see the King touch people for the King's evil. But he did not come at all, it rayned so; and the poor people were forced to stand all the morning in the rain in the garden. Afterward he touched them in the Banqueting House.'

¹ *Institutiones Chirurgicae*.

² June 21-8, 1660.

³ *Diary*, April 13, 1661.

⁴ June 23, 1660.

Charles held many public healings in provincial towns, as well as those at Windsor. Thus Anthony Wood records public touchings in the choir of Christ Church Cathedral at Oxford on September 28 and 29, 1663, and on Palm Sunday, 1681.

He was apt to be accosted for healing even in his private walks. Elias Ashmole, the antiquarian, tells of one Arice Evans—Evans the prophet—waylaying the King in St. James's Park: when Charles gave him his hand to kiss he applied it to his fungous and ulcerating nose, with the result of slow but complete recovery.

Charles seems to have regarded encroachment on his prerogative with leniency. One Thomas Roswell, a dissenting preacher, was accused of having urged people to come to the like of himself for cure, rather than to the King, who possessed no such power. Judge Jeffreys¹ sought to calm his Nonconformist fervour by a sentence of death, but Charles revoked it on the intercession of Sir John Talbot.

Valentine Greatrix also, popularly known as Greatrakes the Stroker, plied his craft, with no diploma of royal unction, without let or hindrance, in full publicity, and within a mile of Whitehall. He even succeeded in curing some cases, which the King had failed to cure: and many people actually crossed to Ireland, while he was there, to obtain his touch.

At first he merely touched the affected parts, but afterwards he made 'passes', or stroked the limbs of his patients, which led to his being called the Stroker. In the Archives of the Royal Society is a letter from Greatrix to the Archbishop of Dublin, in which he describes the circumstances that led him to undertake the cure of disease by touch: 'I was moved by an impulse, which, sleeping or waking, in public or private, always

¹ Howell, *State Trials*, vol. x. p. 150.

dictated: "I have given thee the gift of curing the Kings Evil," &c., &c.' Undoubted cures by Greatrix must have roused some scepticism as to the exclusive prerogative of the King. Greatrix took care to advertise his successes and to obtain for them the *imprimatur* of Science in a ' Brief Account of Mr. Valentine Greatrak's and Divers of the Strange Cures. By him lately Performed. Written by himself in a Letter Addressed to the Hon. Robert Boyle Esq. 1666.' Many cures by Greatrix are attested by Boyle and by other men of eminence. He seems not to have restricted his healing to cases of reputed scrofula. One testimonial states that Dr. Micklethwait sent a patient from St. Bartholomew's Hospital to Greatrix, with painful contractures of the joints, and that he was duly cured. After a brief period of success the skill of Greatrix seems to have suffered eclipse, for in certain cases he began to apply the orthodox medical and surgical remedies of the day.

Both Wiseman and Browne claim for Charles II an abundant measure of success: each, however, admits that cure was not invariable, especially by the first touch. Wiseman¹ speaks of the weakness of the surgeon's ability, 'when compared with His Majesty's, who cureth more in any one year than all the Chirurgions of London have done in an age.'

Browne² strikes a more apologetic note :

Thus every unbelieving Man may rest satisfied that without he brings faith enough with him, and in him, that His Majesty hath Virtue enough in His Touch to Heal him, his expectation will not be answered: whereas the Man of Faith, who confides on the same, will as readily find the benefit of the same. And although this method does not always answer expectation, yet its Effects are wonderful, and its Cure most frequent.

Wiseman's conception of 'struma' must needs have

¹ *Institutiones Chirurgicae.*

² *Charisma*, ch. viii.

embraced a very wide range of morbid conditions. He quotes with approval the definitions given by Galen, Paulus of Aegina, and Aetius, which almost restricted the term to enlargement of lymphatic glands, but at the same time casts his net a great deal wider than they. He gives his own definition as 'a Tumour arising from a peculiar acidity of the serum of the blood, which whensoever it lights upon Glandule, Muscle, or Membrane, it coagulates and hardens: when it mixeth with Marrow, always dissolves it and rotteth the bone'! This acidity he attributes variously to heredity: to an acid diathesis of the blood as in rickets: to bad air: to errors of diet: to want of exercise: and to injury. In this comprehensive category he includes tumours of lymphatic glands, whether mesenteric, mediastinal, bronchial, cervical, inguinal, or axillary; tumours of the face, legs, arms, skin, muscles, or membranes; tumours of salivary glands, tonsils, glandulae lachrymales, thymus, pancreas, mammae, testicles or prostate; tumours of liver, lungs, spleen, or heart; tumours of all bones or joints. He hesitates as to bronchocele, but mentions it on the authority of Laurent, Physician to Henri IV. Such an inclusive list really amounts to this, that any swelling in any part of the body may be accounted strumous on occasion. But even this does not exhaust the list, in which place must also be found for most diseases of the eye. 'Sore eyes,' says he, 'are frequently a species of the King's Evil,' and, with greater precision, 'Ophthalmia itself is often a consequent of the disease: so also is fistula lachrymalis': and again, 'The glandulae lachrymales are often infected, and do according to the variety of their disorders produce several sorts of Tumours about the eye: the most usual of which is a Lippitudo, an affection of the ends of the Lachrymal vessels: so also the Hordeoli.' The conclusion, of

paramount importance, that emerges from Wiseman's description, is that 'struma' must have covered many benign and readily curable ailments, as well as many beyond the range of medicine and surgery of that day or of this. Wiseman summarizes the orthodox treatment of struma as follows: 'In order to the Cure three Intentions are required. The first consists in the regimen of Diet and the other non-naturals: the second, in Pharmacy or internal Prescriptions': 'the second intention consisting in pharmacy must be qualified according to the habit of body. If it be cold and flegmatick, abounding with gross viscous humours, your Prescriptions ought to be healing and attenuating: in Plethoraic bodies you must purge with the stronger cathartics, or repeat the milder often': 'the third, in the application of Externals either to discuss, suppurate, or extirpate the glands. Extirpation may be performed either by Manual Operation or by Escarotick or Caustical Medicaments.' Surely it is no matter for surprise that most patients preferred the Royal touch!

Wiseman may be taken to represent the best surgical opinion of the day. He had an extensive experience of surgery, while serving with Charles I in the Civil War. Charles II appointed him his Serjeant Chirurgeon, and from the record of cases in his Treatise on the King's Evil it is clear that he was an earnest, thoughtful, and resourceful surgeon, and one in daily professional relation with all the leading physicians of London. He was not one of the chirurgions responsible for selecting patients to receive the touch, and was not therefore under any temptation to adapt his ideas of the disease to the requirements of the Royal handicraft.

A very different type of man was John Browne, Chirurgeon in Ordinary to Charles II, and by royal appointment Surgeon also to St. Thomas's Hospital.

Though a *persona grata* at Court, the royal nomination failed to secure for him the goodwill of his hospital colleagues. John Browne was not the man to offer hostages to fortune, and the profession has always tended to tax the favours of fortune on the basis of unearned increment. Outside his hospital his self-satisfied assertiveness seems to have excited the active antagonism of his fellows: his own words throw some sidelight on this matter:

And since my skill for some late years past hath been questioned as touching this Disease: and my judgment thereof hath met with many uncivil rubb by some of our profession (altho I cann't say many) my thoughts thereof might well have cool'd, and my resolutions chill'd, had I not with new supply taken up fresh courage to outbrave the spleen and malice of these desperate Opponents.'

It will be seen hereafter, that as examining surgeon he certainly exercised his choice of applicants for healing with a catholicity that is difficult to reconcile even with the vague pathological criteria of his day.

When John Browne put forth his frail craft on to the broad ocean of medical literature, John Browne's mental vision was focused on the day when it should return again to port, bearing some rich argosy in its train. With John Browne literature was no supplement to the year that had gone, but a preface to the year to come.

His book as a whole is entitled 'Adeno choiradelogia — a Treatise of Glandules and Strumaes, or King's Evil Swellings, Together with the Royal Gift of Healing'. It is ushered into a critical world with a grant from the King to Browne of the sole privilege for fifteen years of printing the treatise, 'which performance of his is to our great liking and satisfaction.' It also received the *imprimatur* of Thomas Coxe, President of the Royal College of Physicians, and of several of the Royal

physicians and surgeons as well. It is divided into three parts:—

Book I. *ADENOGRAPHIA*. An exact Anatomical Treatise of the Glandules. Illustrated with Variety of New observations. Wherein are discoursed their different Uses and Offices, with their proper Names and Natures according to their situations and insertions.

Book II. *CHAERADELOGIA*: or an exact discourse of Strumaes or King's Evil Swellings, wherein are discovered their Names and Natures, Differences, Presages, Causes, Signs and Cure. In that Modest and Plain Dress That the Meanest Capacity may hereby find out the Disease.

Book III. *CHARISMA BASILICON*, or, The Royal Gift of Healing Strumaes or King's Evil Swellings. By contact or imposition of the Sacred Hands of our Kings of England and of France, given them at their Inaugurations.

But seeing that the book deals with some ninety thousand and more cases of struma, mostly cures, he might fairly have entitled it '*THE CONQUEST OF CONSUMPTION*', *sans peur et sans reproche*.

Browne defines Struma as 'A cold and moist preternatural intemperie, generated in the Glandules from a Subsaline and Subacid juice, collated from the wheyish part of the blood: the which whensoever it enters them or approach their Membranes, it doth harden, concrete, incrassate, and convert the same into a coagulate caseous substance'. Here is but little departure from Wiseman's standpoint. Indeed, though Browne, in his preliminary address to the Reader, says, 'The matter hereof, however mean it is, I call it my own,' it cannot escape notice, that in matters medical Browne has laid Wiseman freely under contribution, and in matters historical Tooker: in his affectation of modesty he does homage to the devil's favourite sin.

He regards the glands as lying in the course of the general circulation and concerned chiefly in scavenging

evil humours from the blood. Undue ingestion of acid humours leads to swelling of the glands, such swellings being strumous. He observes that glands are chiefly located in hairy parts of the body, and regards the hairs as channels by which the glands excrete their humours in sweat on the body surface. His enumeration of glands comprises the choroid plexus, the pituitary gland, the lachrymal caruncle, the canthi, the parotid and jugular glands, the tonsils and salivary glands, the breasts, thymus, glands of the gullet, omentum, and mesentery, the pancreas, liver, spleen, kidneys, suprarenals, and prostate, and the glands of the axilla, groins, and joints. All or any of these may become the seat of strumous swellings. But, as though this were not enough, Browne adds 'as Flegmatick Excrescences very nearly related to Strumaes', 'Glandula, Nodus, Lippitudo, Bronchocele, Atheroma, Steatoma, Meliceris, Bubo, Testudo, Botium, Cancer, and Spina Ventosa.' For each of these he gives the points of differentiation from true struma, but the distinctions are so vague and ill-defined, that doubtless in practice he treated them as virtually strumous. Various passages confirm this view. Take for example this :

Sclerophthalmia or Lippitudo happening in young children and others who are troubled with a weak sight, may in a great measure be allowed to bear a part with strumous or King's Evil Swellings, the Glandules in the Eye being Agents powerful enough to beget the same ; and as a general remark hereof, I have generally observed, that whenever this Humour hath met with any Obstruction, it generally and usually creates a hardness and swelling of the upper lip ; and this I presume also is occasioned by some small passages derived from the Lachrymal Glandule sent thither. And whenever such who have been thus troubled have been toucht by the King,¹ these Swellings have very readily abated.'

¹ Not Browne's italics.

Again, in writing of Bronchocele he says: 'I have known many people also cured of this by His Majesty's gracious Touch only.' And still again of Meliceris: 'of this sort I have known very many cured by His Majesty's Touch alone.' Browne regards all these as strumous swellings, each with its appropriate name according to its situation or nature: but then all at once he doubles back on his track and accepts the limitation of the term prescribed by classical tradition. 'If it [the King's Evil] seizeth the Neck and Throat, and so marcheth down all along the Mastoideal Muscle, this is Struma or Scrofula.' So lucid is 'that Modest and Plain Dress That the Meanest Capacity may hereby find out the Disease'!

Browne's Curative Method adopts the general ground-plan of Wiseman, and may be summarized under three main headings:

- 1. Pharmaceutical.
 - a. Internal.
 - b. External.
- 2. Dietetical.
- 3. Chirurgical.

His internal remedies constitute a very lengthy list, mainly of (*a*) Preparatives and Cathartics for cleansing the passages, and (*b*) Specific Alterant Medicines for the relief of special symptoms. The external applications comprise a variety of plasters, poultices, and ointments, according to the nature of the struma. One of these, a poultice of sheep's dung mixed with honey, is a fair sample of their therapeutic efficacy, and of seventeenth-century *Materia Medica* in general. A diet is prescribed 'that must be attenuating and of good digestion': to wit, veal, capon, mutton, lamb, rabbit, cock's broth, pheasant, partridge and small birds. Bread made of good corn with a little salt. Herbs and spices may be taken in the broth. Wine is to be mixed with small beer or water. Moderation must be observed in

food and in drink. Abstinence is enjoined from windy diet, such as beans, chestnuts, pork, cheese, beef, leeks, onions, and everything that breeds gross humours : also from fish and salt meat.

In the matter of Operative Surgery Browne is more cautious than Wiseman. He merely mentions the knife as a last resource, and sounds a note of caution on account of the carotid arteries, jugular veins, and recurrent nerves. And if all these methods fail, 'there is no other hope left of Cure, but by the hands of our Sacred Majesty.'

To prove the efficacy of the royal touch, Browne gives a concise summary of eighty-six cases. It is a little remarkable that out of the many thousand cases admitted by Browne to healing, the most liberal computation can reckon but eight cases personally observed by himself. The remainder are accepted on mere hearsay evidence, and in almost every instance on the evidence of laymen, often actually in the service of the Court. He does, however, give in a very large proportion of cases the names of informants, or of patients, or of both. There is no need to convict Browne of wholesale dishonesty : nor, again, can he be completely acquitted on the ground of immoderate credulity. Browne was, as it were, in medical charge of a huge out-patient department, with no organization, and no facilities for ascertaining the progress of patients, who made with rare exceptions but a single attendance apiece. In the absence of any substantial evidence to the contrary, it may be assumed that failure was the habitual, though not the invariable, result ; failure courts no publicity. In a small moiety of the cases success, real or apparent, was inevitable, and such success receives ready advertisement. To estimate the likelihood and the character of such successes it will be necessary

to consider a few of the actual records. It is clear beyond dispute that Browne did admit patients whom he was well aware were not suffering from the King's Evil. Here is a case that convicts him out of his own mouth :

A poor Country-woman came with her three Sisters from Oxford to be healed by His Majesty in the week before last Easter : this Object of Charity came to my House in a very miserable condition, and was as well by Serjeant Pyle, His Majesties Serjeant Chirurgeon, as myself, viewed, and her Distemper was concluded by both not to be the Evil : her legs were both extraordinarily blistered : her Stomach was so weak that she for some days could not eat any Dyt. I being upon pure Charity perswaded by her earnest Intreaties and Requests to have her toucht, the which on her bended knees she humbly requested, with that perfect assurance that could she attain it, she would certainly gain her cure : she at the publick Healing at Whitehal was Toucht by His Majesty : that very night she eat two Eggs, that for above ten days before nauseated any Dyt. The day following she was Toucht again, and with it she received His Majesties Gold : upon which her Sores and Blisters in her Legs dried up, she speedily thereupon amended, and within a very few days to admiration was perfectly retrieved from her Disease.

This reads like sheer imposture, wounds, artefact, and all. In twenty-five of his eighty-six cures Browne gives no details from which it is possible even to conjecture the nature of the disease. Of the rest, all but a dozen or so were cases either of running sores, or of blindness, sometimes of both together, or of sore and discharging eyes. In no single case is there any clear indication that the sores were specifically strumous. They were located in various parts of the body. Most of them were chronic and had resisted continuous medical treatment. Their frequency in children, particularly about the head and face, would suggest that impetigo was the under-

lying cause of many, while others may perhaps be set down to the presence of pediculi. Some such will have undergone spontaneous recovery. Change of air, change of diet, change of clothing, and perhaps unwonted ablutions, in anticipation of the royal audience, may all have contributed to recovery in individual cases.

A noteworthy fact is the very large proportion of ocular disease among the reputed cures. Cases with all the semblance of hysterical blepharospasm,¹ hysterical amaurosis,² and hysterical amblyopia³ figure in the list. The powerful mental influence of personal contact with the King, reinforced by the enthusiasm of the religious ceremony, must have done much to effect a cure in cases such as these.

Some fourteen cases⁴ may have been genuinely scrofulous, and complicated, as is so often the case, with eczematous conjunctivitis and keratitis, or with phlyctenulae. In these, photophobia and reflex blepharospasm may well have responded to the same efficient stimulus as in the previous category, aided by fresh air and cleanliness. Washing was certainly adopted and probably enjoined in some of the cases, and this alone must have gone far to promote recovery. Both Charles I and Charles II were apt to improve the occasion by recommending simple cleanliness. Thus a young girl, who was touched at Holmby House by Charles I, is spoken of as 'Keeping her sores clean as she was directed by His Majesties order';⁵ and again at Bruges a sick man 'being touched by His Sacred Majesty and washing himself with the water was cured in a few days'.⁶

As might be expected, a few cripples⁷ help to swell the list, whose rapid, sometimes instantaneous, cures

¹ pp. 145, 162.

² p. 141.

³ p. 155.

⁴ pp. 142, 150, 161, 166, 167, 168, 177, 178, 182, 183, 184-6, 188, 192.

⁵ p. 148.

⁶ p. 160.

⁷ pp. 158, 186.

are incompatible with any other diagnosis than that of functional paralysis.

It is instructive to compare the fully-developed ceremonial of Charles II with the contemporary practice at the Court of Louis XIV. Gemelli Careri¹ describes what he saw himself at Paris on April 15, 1686:

On Holy Saturday about ten in the morning, I first saw the Swiss and German guards drawn up in the inner court, handsomely clad in red and blue, with black velvet caps and gorgets, and white feathers after their fashion: then in the second court six companies of French and two of Swiss, with other troops orderly extending to the parish church; and lastly, the King came from his apartment in a black coat flower'd with gold, to his chapel, but the captain of the guard went in a black mourning chair. Having heard Mass devoutly, he received the blessed sacrament, and then after hearing another, prayed a quarter of an hour. In the mean while came some poor *Clares* and other maids to beg an alms, and he gave them four pistoles. This done he came into the aforesaid second court, where about sixteen hundred persons troubled with the King's evil made a lane, to be healed by him, according to ancient custom. He then touched them one after another, signing them with the mark of our salvation and saying, The King touches, God heals thee: After which the bishop of St. Omer, who followed, gave everyone half-a-crown if he were a stranger and a fifteen penny piece if a Frenchman. To some, who perhaps only came for the sake of the money, the King smiling said, 'Are you sick too?' I cannot tell whether they were healed, or how that virtue comes to be intail'd on the crown of France.

Public healings by Louis XIV were not always held thus *al fresco*, but sometimes in the great gallery of the Louvre.²

When James II succeeded to the throne, he was no less active in touching than his brother had been. His

¹ *Voyages of Gemelli Careri in Europe*, vol. iv.

² *Publick Intelligencer*, Jan. 5-12, 1627.

earliest care was to recast the ceremonial in such a manner as to adjust it to his Roman Catholic sympathies. Well aware of the obstinate opposition of his people, he yet decided to revert to the Catholic form of Henry VII. His mental attitude Charles has depicted with an epigrammatic terseness, which loses none of its incisiveness in the picturesque language of Voltaire.¹ ‘Mon frère perdra trois royaumes pour une messe, et le paradis pour une fille.’ In 1686 A.D. two volumes were printed by Henry Hills, the King’s Printer.

I. The first of these is entitled ‘The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be Diseased with the King’s Evil, used in the Time of King Henry VII. Published by His Majesty’s command.’ Copies may be seen in Lambeth Library² and the British Museum.³ The latter belonged to Andrew Coltee Ducarel, and is the copy from which a reprint was made in 1789 A.D., which may be seen in the library of King’s College, London. The Office is entirely in English, and is here transcribed.

JAMES II.

The CEREMONIES for the HEALING of them that be DISEASED with the KING’S EVIL, used in the time of King HENRY VII.

Published by His Majesties Command.

London.

Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty for His Household and Chappel, 1686.

The CEREMONIES for HEALING Them that be DISEASED with the KING’S EVIL.

First, the King, kneeling, shall say,

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

*And so soon as He hath said that, He shall say,
Give the Blessing.*

¹ *Siecle de Louis XIV*, ch. xv.

² 49. C. 18, Art. 1.

³ 1037. a. 18.

The Chaplain kneeling before the King, and having a stole about his neck, shall answer and say,

The Lord be in your heart, and in your lips, to confess all your sins. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Or else he shall say,

Christ hear us. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then by and by the King shall say,

I confess to God, to the blessed Virgin Mary, to all Saints, and to you, that I have sinned in thought, word, and deed through my fault: I pray Holy Mary, and all the Saints of God and you, to pray for me.

The Chaplain shall answer and say,

Almighty God have mercy on you, and pardon you all your sins, deliver you from all evil, and confirm you in good, and bring you to everlasting life. Amen.

The Almighty and Merciful Lord grant you absolution and remission of all your sins, time for true repentance and amendment of life, with the grace and comfort of his Holy Spirit. Amen.

This done the Chaplain shall say,

The Lord be with you.

The King shall answer,

And with thy spirit.

The Chaplain,

Part of the Gospel according to St. Mark.

The King shall answer,

Glory to thee, O Lord.

The Chaplain reads the Gospel.

Last he appeared to those Eleven as they sat at the table; and he exprobated their Incredulity and hardness of Heart, because they did not believe them that had seen him risen again. And he said to them: Going into the whole World, Preach the Gospel to all Creatures. He that believeth and is Baptized, shall be saved: But he that believeth not, shall be condemned. And them that believe, these Signs shall follow: In my name shall they cast out Devils, they shall speak with new tongues. Serpents shall they take up, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall impose hands upon the sick, and they shall be whole.

Which last Clause (They shall impose etc.) the Chaplain repeats as long as the King is handling the sick person. And in the time of repeating the aforesaid words (They

shall impose etc.) the Clerk of the Closet shall kneel before the King, having the sick Person upon the right hand ; and the sick Person shall likewise kneel before the King : And then the King shall lay his hand upon the sore of the sick Person. This done, the Chaplain shall make an end of the Gospel.

And so our Lord JESUS after he spake unto them was assumed into Heaven, and sate on the right hand of God. But they going forth preached everywhere ; our Lord working withal, and confirming the Word with signs which followed.

Whilst this is reading, the Chirurgion shall lead away the sick Person from the King.

And after the Gospel the Chaplain shall say,

The Lord be with you.

The King shall answer,

And with thy spirit.

The Chaplain,

The beginning of the Gospel according to St. John.

The King,

Glory to thee, O Lord.

The Chaplain shall say this Gospel following.

In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word. This was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing, that which was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. There was a man sent from God, whose name was JOHN. This man came for testimony : to give testimony to the light, that all might believe through him. He was not the light, but to give testimony of the light. It was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into this world.

Which last clause (It was the true light etc.) shall still be repeated so long as the King shall be crossing the sore of the sick Person with an Angel of Gold Noble, and the sick Person to have the same Angel hang'd about his neck, and to wear it until he be full whole. This done the Chirurgion shall lead away the sick Person as he did before ; and then the Chaplain shall make an end of the Gospel.

He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came into his own, and his own received him not. But as many as

received him, he gave them power to be made the Sons of God, to those that believe in his name. Who not of the blood, nor of will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God are born. And the word was made flesh, and dwelt in us, and we saw the glory of him, glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and verity.

Then the Chaplain shall say,
The Lord's name be praised.

The King shall answer,
Now and for ever.

Then shall the Chaplain say this Collect following, praying for the Sick Person or Persons:

O Lord hear my prayer.

The King shall answer,
And let my cry come unto thee.

The Chaplain,

Let us pray.

Almighty and everlasting God, the eternal health of them that believe: graciously hear us thy servants for whom we implore the aid of thy mercy, that their health being restored to them, they may give thee thanks in thy church, thro' Christ our Lord. Amen.

This prayer following is to be said secretly, after the sick Persons be departed from the King, at his Pleasure.

Almighty God, Ruler and Lord, by whose goodness the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and all sick persons are healed in their Infirmities: By whom also alone the gift of healing is given to mankind, and so great a grace, thro' thine unspeakable goodness towards this Realm, is granted unto the Kings thereof, that by the sole imposition of their hands a most grievous and filthy disease should be cured: Mercifully grant that we may give thee thanks therefore, and for this thy singular benefit conferr'd on us, not to ourselves, but to thy name let us daily give glory; and let us always so exercise our selves in piety, that we may labour not only diligently to conserve, but every day more and more to encrease thy grace bestowed upon us: And grant, that on whose bodies soever we have imposed hands in thy name, thro' this thy Vertue working in them, and thro' our Ministry, may be restored to their former health, and being confirmed therein, may perpetually with us give thanks unto thee, the chief

Physician and Healer of all diseases ; and that hence-forwards they may so lead their lives, as not their bodies only from sickness, but their souls also from sin may be perfectly purged and cured : Thro' our Lord JESUS CHRIST thy son, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the Unity of the Holy Ghost, God World without end. Amen.

II. The second volume represents a step still nearer to Roman Catholic usage, for though the rubrics are in English, the prayers and Gospels are in Latin. It is, in fact, identical with the Office of Henry VII. There are two copies in the British Museum :¹ the latter of these came from the library of George III. The plate pasted on to a spare page at the beginning is that of Charles II touching for the Evil from John Browne's book. Kennett,² in speaking of the Office of Charles II, inserts a marginal note : 'This, I think was the only Office changed by K. James II and performed by his own Popish priests.' Though James's intention is clear and unmistakable, no evidence is forthcoming of his having acted as Kennett suggests : indeed, it is all in a contrary sense. Patrick, an Anglican bishop, says in his Autobiography : 'On Ash Wednesday the King was pleased to touch, and the chaplains of our religion attended, and read the Gospel and prayers, as usually had been done.' Again, Cartwright, the Anglican Bishop of Chester, makes the following entries in his Diary : 'Aug. 28, 1687. At nine o'clock I attended him [James II] into the choir, where he healed 350 persons'; and 'Aug. 29. His Majesty went to heal and dine at Holy-well' [Saint Winifred's well in Flintshire]; and 'Aug. 30. I attended him into the choir, where he healed 450 persons'.

Again, Anthony Wood³ writes : 'Sept. 4, 1687. The

¹ 3407. c. 101, and 6. b. 10. ² *Registers Ecclesiastical and Civil.*

³ *Life and Times.*

next day being Sunday he [James] went about 9 of the clock into the cathedral [Christ Church, Oxford], where he touched 700 or 800 people': and the following day 'about 8 of the clock he went into the cathedral and touched again for the Evil'. A passage from Letters from the Bodleian is even more definite: 'On Sunday morning the King touched: Warner and White officiating,' and they were Anglican clergy. From these various passages it is clear that James touched extensively, and that he did so in connexion with places of Anglican worship.

There was a popular belief that the touch had a greater efficacy on Friday, and especially on Good Friday, and James seems to have sympathized with it, for he appointed Friday¹ in each week as a day of public healing.

In the British Museum may be seen both gold and silver touch-pieces of James II.² They are struck from different dies, and vary in the excellence of their workmanship, the silver form being the better.

The form is that of the medalet of Charles II, but conformably with James's ingrained parsimony is smaller than that of either Charles II or Anne. The legend remains unchanged, 'Soli Deo Gloria.' The touch-piece was issued in both metals from the first year of the reign.

The Duke of Monmouth in aspiring to the crown did not neglect to exercise this popular and important prerogative of royalty. At his trial for high treason one of the charges against him was that 'he touched³ children of the King's evill, and did exercise the other functions of royal dignitie'; and one of the witnesses, Captain Robert Bruce, deposed that at Taunton 'he heard him proclaimed King, and he saw him assume

¹ *London Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1686.

² See Plate facing p. 90.

³ Howell, *State Trials*, vol. xi. pp. 1036 and 1066.

the title of King, and receive from the people the acclamations of "God save the King," and saw him tutch a boy for the King's evill'. The Duke of Monmouth in this matter seems to have anticipated even his father's demise, for in 1681 A.D. Benjamin Harris¹ records in a short tract the cure of a girl by the Duke of Monmouth at Crookham in Somersetshire. A broadside in the Society of Antiquaries records the same in verse of the peculiarly coarse character that was the habitual medium of Jacobite invective. The Duke's sister also, whom Harris identifies as 'Mrs. F.', seems also to have aspired to a share of the royal prerogative, for she healed one Jonathan Trot, the son of an apple-woman in Convent Garden. The cures achieved by the Duke were widely advertised by his supporters: a handbill describing them was sold in Sir John St. Aubyn's sale at Christie's about the middle of the last century.

Voltaire² says that James continued to touch at the English Convent in Paris after the Revolution had driven him from his kingdom. His miracles of healing did not even cease with his death, for among the Manuscripts in the British Museum³ may be seen a letter from Gabrielle, Bishop of Autun, recording his own immediate cure from dacryocystitis, of many years' duration, after saying a mass at the Convent of Chaillot for the soul of King James. Reading between the lines it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Bishop was the unresisting victim of the desire of the nuns of Chaillot to procure the canonization of James.

With the Revolution and the advent of a stranger to the throne the royal gift of healing fell into complete neglect. Macaulay⁴ writes:

¹ *A Choice Collection of Wonderful Miracles*,

² *Siecle de Louis XIV.*

³ Additional MSS. 20311.

⁴ *History of England*, ed. 1860, vol. iii. p. 480.

William had too much sense to be duped, and too much honesty to bear a part in what he knew to be an imposture. 'It is a silly superstition,' he exclaimed, when he heard that at the close of Lent, his palace was besieged by a crowd of the sick: 'Give the poor creatures some money and send them away.'¹ On one single occasion he was importuned into laying his hand on a patient. 'God give you better health,' he said, 'and more sense.' The parents of scrofulous children cried out against his cruelty: bigots lifted up their hands and eyes in horror at his impiety: Jacobites sarcastically praised him for not presuming to arrogate to himself a power which belonged only to legitimate sovereigns; and even some Whigs thought that he acted unwisely, in treating with such marked contempt a superstition which had a strong hold on the vulgar mind: but William was not to be moved, and was accordingly set down by many High Churchmen as either an infidel or a puritan!

In spite of this account, there can be little doubt that William never made a serious attempt to exercise the gift. His *quondam* physician, Sir Richard Blackmore,² wrote in 1735 A.D.:

It is a mark of great wisdom in King William of glorious memory and his present Majesty [George II], that conscious of the Vanity of this Power of healing the Evil pretended to be annex'd to the Crown, they never regarded or practised that superstitious and insignificant Ceremony.

Rapin³ further confirms Blackmore's statement:

The late King William III of glorious memory was so persuaded he should do no injury to persons afflicted with this distemper, by not touching them, that he refrained from it all his reign.

And Whiston⁴ wrote in the same strain:

Queen Anne used to touch for the Evil: though I think that neither King William nor Queen Mary, nor King George the First or Second, have ever done it.

¹ *Paris Gazette*, April 23, 1689.

² Preface to *Treatise on the King's Evil*.

³ *History of England*.

⁴ *Memoirs*.

Enough is known of Mary's submissive demeanour to be sure that she exercised in her own person none of the sovereign's prerogatives, not even those that her husband disdained. Still another witness is Defoe:¹

If some of our kings have omitted it wholly, such as the late King William, it is plain to me, his majesty had not equal faith in the power of curing it, and did not think fit to attempt it without the most material qualification.

With the reigning king showing open disdain of the time-honoured custom, medical men began to make bold to publish their reasoned scepticism. Thus Richard Carr,² addressing the Royal College of Physicians, adopts a tone of dispassionate criticism:

Absit ut vim Regiam quasi caelitus delapsam creditam et mira hominum frequentia stipatam in sanandis strumis vel in quaestionem revocarem. . . . Absit itaque ut tam injurius essem Serenissimi Principis nostri praerogativae plusquam (ut ita dicam) humanae, vel aegrotantium suorum commodis, ut quemlibet strumosum contactu Regio inhiantem, ab illius contactu dissuaderem: potius vota faciam, quos Rex tangit, Deus sanaret. Verbo itaque expediam quod sentio: Contactus Regius potest esse (si olim fuit) proficuus: solet subinde esse irritus, nequit umquam esse nocivus.

[God forbid that I should even call in question the power of the King to cure the scrofulous, sent down as it seems from heaven and beset by a wondrous con-course of men. . . . God forbid too that I should be so unjust to this prerogative of our most Serene Prince, which I may almost call superhuman, or to the welfare of his sick subjects, as to dissuade any sick person, who eagerly desires the King's touch, from seeking the same: rather will I express the wish that God may cure those whom the King touches. I can therefore explain my feeling in a word: the King's touch may still be beneficial if it ever was: often it is apt to be ineffectual, but it can never be harmful.]

Carr says that it was the popular belief that the dis-

¹ *Review*, I. Supp. 3, p. 16.

² *Epistolae Medicae*, 1691.

ease underwent immediate cure, and that within a few days more than five hundred out of a thousand would be perfectly cured. Like Wiseman and Browne, Carr recognized that glands are scattered throughout the body and that scrofula may attack any part, but he believed that the glands of the neck are most susceptible, because they are exposed to cold air, just as fungi and the gummy exudations of trees become hard on exposure to air.

A century and a half later Macaulay¹ in scornful eloquence denounces the crass credulity of all who lent their countenance to the farce.

Theologians [he says] of eminent learning, ability, and virtue gave the sanction of their authority to this mummery; and what is stranger still, medical men of high note believed, or affected to believe in the balsamic virtues of the royal hand. . . . We cannot wonder that, when men of science gravely repeated such nonsense, the vulgar should have believed it. Still less can we wonder that wretches tortured by a disease over which natural remedies had no power should have eagerly drunk in tales of preternatural cures: for nothing is so credulous as misery.

For such full-blooded denunciation one needs to have breakfasted, as our grandfathers did, on cold beef. To the less robust intelligence of this effete twentieth century it would seem rather, that such a belief was inevitably determined by the intellectual atmosphere of the times. The mind of man, confronted with the enigma of the universe, seeks to solve its mystery. In so far as the physical knowledge of his age permits and affords a natural solution, his belief will own the dominion of natural law: in so far as it fails to do so, he will postulate the agency of supernatural causes. It is true that, as early as Hippocrates, medicine had speculatively

¹ *History of England*, ed. 1860, vol. iii. p. 478.

asserted the sovereignty of nature over medical science, but in an age when natural philosophy was still unborn the assertion amounts to no more than a brilliant anticipation of the future dominion of Science. Galen expresses a whole-hearted belief in magical medicine, which finds an echo as late as 1633 A.D. in the *Religio Medici* of Sir Thomas Browne. All through the Middle Ages the whole weight of tradition and the whole body of popular belief were ranged, under clerical influence, on the side of the theistic teaching that disease was the work of God, and that healing was His handiwork, to be delegated by Him only to His specially favoured representatives. It was not till the age of Elizabeth that Bacon laid in the ground the good seed that was destined to unfold so much of the mystery of nature, but this seed lay dormant in a cold and uncongenial soil, until warmed by the summer sun of the years that followed the Restoration. And who should yet gainsay the belief that God could and did intervene, on occasion and in individual cases, to modify the working of natural laws in a supernatural manner? Clowes, whose writings show that he conceived human disease to be due to disturbance of bodily function by natural causes, and amenable therefore to purely physical methods, is still ready to recommend in default a supernatural mode of healing.

Whatever the verdict historians and politicians may pass on the reign of Charles II, Science at least must regard it as an age when giants were in the land. The names of Boyle, Halley, Newton, and Wren stand out among many as stars of first magnitude. But *vixere fortis ante Agamemnona*: what stamped the seal of scientific progress on the age was not so much the number or excellence of the individual workers, as the recognition of the fact that progress is best assured by combination

and co-operation of the workers. The incorporation of the Royal Society, important enough in itself, was of infinitely greater importance in the impetus it gave to the idea of combination in literature, in education, in science, in art, and indeed in all and every department of knowledge, which was one legacy bequeathed by the seventeenth to succeeding centuries.

Boyle¹ himself expressed sincere belief in the efficacy of the touch not only of the King but also of Valentine Greatrix. It is given to few men, however eminent, to shake themselves wholly free from the trammels that the prejudices of their time impose. At the same time, it is a mere commonplace of everyday occurrence that the most enlightened minds, by reason of their perception of the very inadequacy of the knowledge of the external world, in their desire for fuller knowledge, are apt to be found groping for the light, outside the narrow confines of recognized natural phenomena. If such was the mental attitude of the leaders of scientific thought, it is small matter for surprise that such men as Browne and Wiseman should have accepted the Royal gift of healing as a canon of their creed.

With the dawn of the eighteenth century, the revolt of the medical profession against the hitherto prevalent and still popular belief begins first to find open expression, under the fostering influence of an incredulous king. The strength of the revolt, seen in the writings of Blackmore, Carr, Defoe, and others, is directly commensurate with the spread of scientific knowledge to the medical and to other callings. The masses, on whom the sun of Science has not yet shone, still wallow for a while in the gross darkness of a blind devotion, of which Harley was quick to take political advantage.

¹ *Brief Account of Mr. Valentine Greatrak's.*

Oldmixon¹ states that Queen Anne was induced to resume touching, by way of asserting her hereditary right to the Crown, and flouting the Parliamentary right of William III and the House of Hanover. At the instance of Harley, the Privy Council determined to issue proclamations, stating when the Queen would perform the miracle. The announcement was read in all the parish churches, and duly published in the *Gazette*. Oldmixon has reproduced several entries from the *Gazette*; for example, on 'March 12, 1712, the Queen announces her intention of admitting patients for the touch'. Also :

Bath, October 6, 1702. A great number of Persons coming to this place to be touched by the Queen's Majesty for the Evil, her Majesty commanded Dr. Thomas Gardiner, her chief Surgeon, to examine them all particularly, which was accordingly done by him, of whom but 30 appeared to have the Evil, which he certified by Tickets as is usual, and those 30 were all touched privately that day by reason of Her Majesty not having a proper conveniency for the solemnity.

Again, in London, 'Yesterday the Queen was graciously pleased to touch for the King's Evil some particular persons in Private': and three weeks later, 'December 19. Yesterday about 12 at noon her Majesty was pleased to touch at St. James about 20 Persons afflicted with the King's Evil.' On March 30, 1712, the *Gazette* announced that 200 had been touched in St. James's Palace, where the Queen commonly held her public Healings.

Among the number was Samuel Johnson, whose recollection of the occasion may still be seen in his handwriting² at Lichfield. 'I was taken in Lent to London to be touched by Queen Anne. I remember

¹ *History of England*.

² 'An Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson from his birth to his eleventh year. Written by himself.'

a boy crying when I went to the Palace to be touched. I always retained some memory of this journey, though I was then but thirty months old.' Boswell¹ supplements his account as follows: 'Dr. Johnson being asked if he could remember Queen Anne, he had, he said, a confused, but somehow a sort of solemn recollection of a lady in diamonds and a long black hood.' Johnson was brought by his mother, on the recommendation of Sir John Floyer, a well-known physician of Lichfield. Boswell says that Johnson's scrofula 'disfigured a countenance naturally well-formed, and hurt his visual nerves so much that he did not see at all with one of his eyes, though its appearance was little different from that of the other'. Johnson carried with him to the grave abiding testimony of Anne's ineffectual handiwork.

Yet another man of letters, Swift,² was an anxious suppliant for the bestowal of Anne's touch on a youthful protégé: he writes that he has asked the Duchess of Ormond to get a grocer lad touched, but he fears that she will not touch on account of the warm weather. Bishop Douglas³ says that a physician of the highest probity told him, that Mr. Dicken, Serjeant Surgeon to Queen Anne, personally and of his own observation vouched for several cures by her, and stated that he had numerous letters from people above all suspicion of untruthfulness, recording the cures of relatives and friends. The well-known surgeon, Daniel Turner,⁴ likewise testifies to the cure by Queen Anne of a case of scrofulous glands, which had resisted repeated trial of his own remedies. He further says that Mr. Serjeant Bernard told him that he personally knew many cases of cure by the Queen's touch, that had defied the whole

¹ *Life of Johnson.*

² *Journal to Stella*, Letter 22, Chelsea, May 8, 1711.

³ *The Criterion.*

⁴ *Art of Surgery*, ed. 1722, vol. i. p. 158.

art of medicine and surgery. On the other hand, Barrington¹ says that in the course of hearing evidence at a trial in Oxford, an old man said that he had been touched by Queen Anne when a child, but admitted that he had never had the King's Evil, but 'that his parents were poor and had no objection to the bit of gold'.

The same disorder, as Evelyn deplored, in the access of the sick to the surgeon's house, seems to have maintained in the reign of Queen Anne. In the *London Gazette*² we read: 'Whereas great Multitudes of People do daily resort to the Serjeant Surgeon's House, and in a very disorderly manner demand to be view'd for the Evil: it is Her Majesty's Pleasure, That all those who are proper Objects do repair only to the Office appointed at Whitehall for that purpose, where Attendance will be given at convenient Times: of which Publick Notice will be given, Her Majesty having at present thought fit to put off healing for some time.'

Anne's touch-piece³ was of gold, and considerably larger than that of James II, the characters and legend of which it retained, but for the necessary change of the Sovereign's name. The touch-piece presented to Samuel Johnson may be seen in the British Museum.

The Office used by Queen Anne has been preserved in many different works, and is here appended:

QUEEN ANNE.

AT THE HEALING.

Book of Common Prayer, 1709. [British Museum, 3052. e. e. e. 14.]

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¹ *Observations on the Statutes*, pp. 107, 108. ² March 22, 1702.

³ See Plate facing p. 158.

The Holy Gospel is written in the 16th Chapter of St. Mark, beginning at the 14th verse.

Jesus appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen. And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them: *they shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.* So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.

Let us pray.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Then shall the infirm persons one by one be presented unto the queen upon their knees, and as everyone is presented, and while the queen is laying her hands upon them, and putting the gold about their necks, the chaplain that officiates, turning himself to her majesty, shall say the following:

God give a blessing to this work: and grant that these sick persons, on whom the queen lays her hands, may recover, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After all have been presented the Chaplain shall say,

Vers. O Lord, save thy servants.

These answers

Resp. Who put their trust in Thee.

are to be made by

Vers. Send them help from Thy holy place.

them that come to be Healed.

Resp. And evermore mightily defend them.

Vers. Help us, O God of our salvation.

Resp. And for the glory of Thy name deliver us, and be merciful unto us sinners for Thy Name's sake.

Vers. O Lord, hear our prayer.

Resp. And let our cry come unto Thee.

Let us pray.

O Almighty God, who art the giver of all health, and the aid of all them that seek to Thee for succour, we call upon Thee for Thy help and goodness mercifully to be shewed upon these Thy servants, that they being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks unto Thee in Thy holy Church: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then the Chaplain standing with his face towards them that come to be healed shall say,

The Almighty God, who is a most strong tower to all them that put their trust in Him, to whom all things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth do bow and obey, be now and evermore your defence, and make you know and feel that there is none other Name under heaven given to man, in whom and through whom you may receive health and salvation, but only the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

This form of the Service of Healing attained great importance from its habitual inclusion in Prayer Books of her reign. One such is in the library of the Royal College of Physicians, of date 1708 A.D., and bears the autograph of William Hogarth, the painter; and another, of the year 1709 A.D., may be seen in the British Museum,¹ with the service 'At the Healing' immediately preceding the Articles of Religion at the end of the book. By whom this inclusion was authorized is a point on which no evidence is forthcoming. The earliest known copy of this reign is in a Prayer Book of 1707 A.D. in the Lambeth Library,² so that its inclusion

¹ 3052. e. e. e. 14.

² 69. A. 19.

presumably does not date from the commencement of the reign. Queen Anne's represents the first substantial alteration of the original form used by Henry VII. It has undergone a business-like abbreviation from the lengthy ceremonial of previous reigns. It opens with the familiar Collect of our Communion Service, 'Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, &c.' Then follows the Gospel from St. Mark, as in previous services: next some versicles and the Lord's Prayer. At this point the sick are presented to the Queen, one by one, upon their knees, and she lays her hands upon them and puts the Gold round their necks, while the officiating Chaplain turning towards her says, 'God give a blessing to this work: and grant that these sick persons, on whom the queen lays her hands, may recover, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' After all have been presented, the Chaplain says the versicles, which closely resemble those in the Form of Charles II, and the sick are directed to make the responses. The same prayer as in the service of Charles II, 'Almighty God, who art the Giver of all health, &c.,' is then read, and afterwards the Chaplain, turning his face to the sick, recites one of the prayers from the Visitation of the Sick, 'The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower, &c.,' and the service ends with the usual blessing.

With the accession of the House of Hanover the ceremony of Healing, as a prerogative of the Sovereign, died a natural death. Lathbury relates that soon after his accession George I declined to touch the child of an English gentleman, and referred him to the Pretender, as possessing the hereditary power of the Stuarts. He repaired to the Continent, his son was touched and recovered, and the father was converted to the Stuart cause.¹ A tale is also told that a Whig lady, to slight

¹ Chambers, *History of the Rebellion*.

the pretensions of the Jacobites, sought to obtain for herself the touch of George I.

She made known to the Secretary of State, that she was in a condition of health, which would make no progress to one issue till she had kissed the King's hand. The Secretary informed the Sovereign of this womanish caprice, and the good natured monarch laughingly said she might meet him in the Gallery of St. James and have her wish gratified. She hung two minutes with her lips to the Royal Hand, King George looking down on her the while in the greatest good humour.¹

The newspapers of the day record no actual cases of touching by the King.

In the face of this open disdain it is surprising that the service of Healing should have been inserted in no less than four editions of the Oxford Prayer Book after the accession of George I, and in the Latin Liturgy, in the subjoined form, to an even later date. The English forms of Anne and George I are identical, but for substituting 'King' for 'Queen'.

LATIN VERSIONS OF THE PRAYERS AT THE HEALING. QUEEN ANNE AND GEORGE I.

From *Liturgia seu Liber Precum Communium.*

Forma Strumosos Atrectandi.

1713.

Singulas nostras actiones,
Domine, pro singulari tua
clementia praeveni, et nos
assidue adjuvando prose-
quere, ut, in omnibus no-
stris actionibus, incepitis,
continuatis, et in Te per-
fectis, sacrosanctum No-
men Tuum illustremus, et
tandem benignitate Tua

1727.

In omnibus nostris actio-
nibus, clementissimo Tuo,
Domine, favore nos praev-
eni, et perpetuo Tuo au-
xilio nos prosequere, ut in
omnibus operibus nostris,
incepitis, continuatis, et in
Te perfectis, sacrosanctum
Nomen Tuum illustremus,
et tandem pro clementia

¹ London in the Jacobite Times, ed. 1719, vol. i. p. 345.

sempiternam vitam con-
sequamur, per Jesum Chri-
stum Dominum nostrum.
Amen.

Tuâ sempiternam vitam
consequamur, per Jesum
Christum Dominum no-
strum. Amen.

*Evangelii D. Marci capite 16. Commate 14 et deinceps.
sic scriptum habemus.*

Discubentibus undecim apparuit Jesus, et eis in-
credulitatem et pervicaciam exprobravit, quod eis, qui
Se resurrexisse viderant, non credidissent : eisque dixit,
Ite in totum orbem, praedicate Evangelium omni crea-
turae : Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, servabitur :
qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Signa autem
eos, qui crediderint, haec sequentur : In Nomine Meo
Daemonia ejicient : linguis loquentur novis : serpentes
tollent : et si quid mortiferum biberint, non iis nocebit :
Quum aegrotis manus imponent, illi bene habebunt. Igitur
Dominus, postquam eos alloquutus est, sublatus est
in caelum, et ad Dei dexteram sedit. Illi vero digressi
ubique praedicarunt, Domino adjuvante, et orationem
sequentibus signis confirmante.

Oremus.

Misereri nostri, Domine.

Misereri nostri, Christe.

Misereri nostri, Domine.

Pater noster, Qui es in caelis, sancte colatur Nomen
Tuum. Veniat regnum Tuum. Fiat voluntas Tua, ut
in caelo, sic et in terrâ. Victum nostrum alimentarium
da nobis hodie. Et remitte nobis debita nostra, ut et
nos remittimus debitoribus nostris. Nève nos in tenta-
cionem inducito, sed à malo tuere : Quoniam Tuum est
regnum, et potentia, et gloria in sempiternum. Amen.

*Tum strumosi, sigillatim Regi [Reginae, 1713] sistentur,
in genua provoluti : atque ut singulus sistitur, et dum Rex
[Regina 1713] iis manus imponit, auroque colla circumdat,
Capellanus, qui officium praestat, ad Regiam Majestatem
conversus ita dicet :*

Deus huic operi propitius adsit ; et det ut hi strumosi,
quibus Rex [Regina, 1713] manus imponit, ex morbo
convalescant, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.
Amen.

Cum omnes sistantur, ita dicet capellanus.

Salvos fac, Domine, hos famulos tuos.

Responsio.

*Qui sibi fiduciam in Te collocant. [Hae responsiones
a strumosis dicendae sunt.]*

Capellanus.

Mitte eis auxilium ex fano Tuo.

Responsio.

Et potens eos semper protege.

Capellanus.

Succurre nobis, Deus salutis nostrae.

Responsio.

Et Tui Nominis gloriae causâ libera nos; et Tui Nominis gratiâ peccatis nostris veniam da.

Capellanus.

Nos, Domine, invocantes, exaudi.

Responsio.

Et ad Te perlata sit querela nostra.

Oremus.

Omnipotens Deus, cui omnis valetudo prorsus debetur, quique iis Te defensorem praebes, qui ad Te perfugiunt ad auxilium: pro misericordiâ Tuâ, quaesumus, his tuis famulis auxilium fert, tuâque in eos clementiâ utere, ut hoc morbo levati, Tibi gratias in ecclesiâ sanctâ Tuâ agant, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

[1713.]

[1727.]

Tum Capellanus, ad sandos conversus, dicet.

Omnipotens Deus, omnibus ei confidentibus turris firmissima, cui omne segmentum flectit, caelestium et terrestrium, et subterraneorum, et nunc et in perpetua secula tibi sit munimento; et faxit cognoscas, et certior factus sis, nullum aliud esse nomen sub caelo apud homines datum, in quo et per quod à morbo tibi confirmetur valetudo, et servandus sis, nisi nomen unum Jesu Christi, Domini nostri.

Omnipotens Dominus, omnibus qui sibi in eo fiduciam collocant Turris firmissima; Cui omne segmentum genuflectit et paret, caelestium, et terrestrium, et subterraneorum, et nunc et in perpetua secula Vobis sit munimento: et sciatis faxit, et pro certissimo habeatis, nullum aliud esse Nomen sub caelo apud homines datum, in quo, et per quod à morbo Vobis confirmetur valetudo, et conservandi sitis, nisi solum Nomen Jesu Christi, Domini nostri. Amen.

Domini Jesu Christi gratia, et Dei amor, et Sancti Spiritus communio, nobis adsit omnibus in perpetua secula. Amen. (2 Cor. xiii. 14.)

These forms of Queen Anne and George I, from the Latin Liturgies of the respective reigns, have been placed by Sparrow Simpson,¹ as here, in parallel columns, to show the slight points of difference between the two.

There is a curious entry in the Accounts of the Churchwardens of Minchinhampton (1663–1736),² which shows that the withholding of the royal touch did not at once administer the *coup de grâce* to the belief in royal healing. Throughout these accounts are repeated payments for 'ribbon for the King's evil'. In all probability old touch-pieces were handed from patient to patient, just as the coins of Charles I did duty for successive generations of Shetlanders. At Ashburnham too, in Sussex, relics of Charles I long exercised a magic attraction on sufferers from the King's Evil. But as the eighteenth century grew older, other conditions were arising, that were destined to uproot once and for all a custom honoured alike by time and by tradition. The spread of education and of knowledge, more particularly the knowledge of the elementary facts of natural science, to the masses served to transform what had hitherto been a not illogical belief into a gross and unpardonable superstition. This is no place in which to follow out the origin and establishment of newspapers, of libraries, of Sunday-schools, of book-clubs, of reading-rooms, and the whole apparatus of popular enlightenment, that was so noticeable a feature of the eighteenth century. Suffice it only to particularize the publication by Harris in 1704 A.D. of his *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, the true parent of all the subsequent dictionaries and cyclopaedias, that supplied pre-digested knowledge to the million: and the early attempts

¹ *Journal of Archaeolog. Association*, 1871.

² *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxv.

of Desaguliers¹ and Hill, in the reign of George I, to popularize natural science by treatises in untechnical language.

Meantime the exiled Stuarts over the water were more mindful of the prerogatives of sovereignty that still attached to their persons. As James III, the elder Pretender touched sick persons in the hospitals of Paris.² On his return also to Scotland, in 1715-16 A.D., he touched for the Evil, it is said successfully, at Glamys Castle.³ In 1722 A.D. James was splendidly entertained at the Baths of Lucca by the republic of Lucca. He in return touched for the King's Evil with full ceremonial.

The King knelt on a cushion, his attendants on the ground, while the queen's [Clementina] Irish Dominican confessor read certain versicles to which the King responded. After the reading of the Gospel, 'You shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover,' the sick children were brought to be touched, and the King hung a medal of St. Edward round each little neck. He 'breathed holiness while performing the rite', says the chronicler, 'such was the rapt devotion and the gentleness with which he acted.'⁴

There is a pamphlet entitled, 'Letter from a gentleman at Rome to his Friend in London,' dated August 23, 1721, Rome, which is generally believed to refer to the healing performances of the elder Pretender in and around Rome, though the writer ascribes the cures he had witnessed to the Rev. Father Lewis, of the Society of Jesus. The list includes swellings under the jaws, inflamed eyes and extroverted eyelids, tumours in various parts of the body, and caries of bones. The

¹ Buckle, *History of Civilization*.

² *Cérémonies et prières du Sacre des Rois*, Paris, 1825, p. 104.

³ Shield, *The King over the Water*.

⁴ *Giacomo Stuardo e la sua reale Consorte ai Bagni di Lucca*.
F. Acton.

writer expresses astonishment that such a marvellous method of cure should have fallen into disrepute in England. For the rest the tract is an outline sketch of the history of touching for the Evil.

Three separate touch-pieces¹ of the elder Pretender, as James III, are known. The first type is in silver only. It was probably executed by Norbert Roettier in Paris when, anticipating the functions of sovereignty, James created a Master of the Mint, and issued orders for the regulation of a new coinage, patterns of which were actually struck.² The second type is found both in silver and gold: it was struck in Rome at a later date, and is probably the work of Otto Hamerani. It is in higher relief, and perhaps of better workmanship than the French issue. The size of all of them is about the same as of that of James II, and the legend on all is 'Soli Deo Gloria'. There is a small difference in the ship, the French type showing it in full sail, the Italian 'taken aback'.

Still, the elder Pretender has earned chief notoriety by the vicarious penalty his handiwork involved on Thomas Carte, the historian. Macaulay has thus referred to him :

Thomas Carte, who was a disciple, and, at one time, an assistant of Collier, inserted so late as the year 1747, in a bulky History of England, an exquisitely absurd note, in which he assured the world that, to his certain knowledge, the Pretender had cured the scrofula, and very gravely inferred that the healing virtue was transmitted by inheritance, and was quite independent of any unction.

Actually in his note Carte cites a case of cure of the King's Evil that could not conceivably be attributed to the royal unction, for the very sufficient reason that the

¹ See Plate facing p. 158.

² *Medallic Illustrations, British Museum.*

Pretender had not received it. The patient was one Christopher Lovel, a Bristol labourer, who had suffered for years from a scrofulous tumour in the left side of the neck, that had suppurated and kept up a continuous discharge by five separate sinuses. All medical aid having proved unavailing, he determined to betake himself to Paris, and in 1716 A.D. he was touched

by the eldest lineal descendant of a Race of Kings, who had indeed for a long succession of ages cured that distemper by the Royal touch. But this descendant and next heir of their blood had not, at least at that time, been crowned or anointed. The usual effect however followed : from the moment that the man was touched and invested with the narrow ruband, to which a small piece of silver was pendant, according to the rites prescribed in the office, appointed by the Church for that solemnity, the humour dispersed insensibly, his sores healed up, and he recovered strength daily, till he arrived in perfect health in the beginning of January following, at Bristol, having spent only four months and some few days in his voyage.¹

Carte himself saw the man after his return and testifies to the complete healing of the wounds, leaving only five red scars. He also received confirmation of the reality of the cure from Dr. Lane, an eminent Bristol physician, and also from Samuel Pye, the same surgeon as had tried unsuccessfully to cure him. Carte concludes :

I am apt to think, there never was an instance, in which the distemper had prevailed to a higher degree, or the surprising cure of it was known to such infinite multitudes of people as in the case of Christopher Lovel: and I found upon the whole that, if it is not to be deemed miraculous, it at least deserved the character, given it by Dr. Lane, of being one of the most wonderful events that has ever happened.

It is unnecessary to discuss the acrimonious correspondence, in the columns of *The General Evening Post*,

¹ Carte, *History of England*.

elicited by Carte's unfortunate note. One letter, however, from Carte himself in the issue of February 23, 1747, must be quoted in his own defence. He writes:

The relation of Christopher Lovel was inserted in a note, to show it was erroneously ascribed to the unction. It was put there with no other view than to refute that notion, and without any design of publishing it, but the note (perhaps for want of a mark, directing it should not be copied, as I used in some other cases) being transcribed, together with the Discourse, for the press, I did not, when the proof-sheet was sent me, strike it out, observing nothing in it that could reasonably give offence, were it not for the comments of malevolent people: for the person touching is not named, and what is said of him agrees to more than one person.

But Carte's explanation found no favour. A month or two later, in April, 1748, the Corporation of London unanimously resolved to withdraw the subscription of £50 a year for seven years, which they had voted towards the expenses of the History. On a petition from Carte to the Court of Common Council, October 11, 1750, £50 was paid to him, on account of the year that had nearly expired when the subscription was withdrawn. In spite of the withdrawal, Carte persevered in his work, and published two more volumes in his life-time, while a fourth was issued after his death. In the preface to the second volume he vindicated the obnoxious note in the first.¹ The further history of Christopher Lovel is not without interest, for, according to a correspondent of *The General Evening Post*, 'the disease broke out again and the patient died of it on the way to Avignon in quest of a second touch.'

Charles Edward also exercised the gift of healing. As Prince of Wales and *soi-disant* Regent for his father, he touched a child in Edinburgh during the rebellion of 1745 A.D. After the battle of Prestonpans he enjoyed

¹ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii. pp. 494-504.

a few short days of viceregal state at Holyrood Palace,¹ during which he touched for the Evil a seven-year-old child brought to him from Perth. The ceremony took place in the picture gallery, which was his usual audience chamber, in the presence of the principal officers and many ladies. A circle was cleared for the child, who was attended by her nurse, and a priest was present in full canonicals. The child was then stripped and placed on her knees in the centre of the circle. The priest said an appropriate prayer, and then Charles, as he touched each sore in succession, said 'I touch, but God heal'! The priest then concluded the ceremony with another prayer, and the child was dressed and carried round to receive various small presents of money. Twenty-one days after the touching the sores began to heal, and the child recovered completely, though afflicted from childhood.

Charles Edward also touched in Italy. Sir Horace Mann,² under date September 8, 1770, says that he touched two or three destitute people, who applied to him for cure of their scrofula. His physicians had sent him from Rome to Pisa, in the vain hope that the baths would repair the damage his drunken habits were working on his constitution. Again, under date August 8, 1786, at Albano, he was guilty 'of the folly practised by his father and grandfather to touch people who are afflicted with scrofulous disorders. Many old men and women have been presented to him for that purpose, to whom, after some ceremony, he gives a small silver medal, which they wear about their necks.'²

Touch-pieces of Charles Edward are exceedingly rare. The British Museum is the fortunate possessor of one. It is silver and about the size of a sixpenny piece. On

¹ Chambers, *History of the Rebellion of 1745-6*, ch. 13, note.

² *Decline of the Last Stuarts* (Roxburghe Club).



2



3



4

1. Touch piece of Queen Anne (gold).
2. Touch-piece of the Elder Pretender (silver).
3. Touch-piece of Charles Edward (silver).
4. Touch-piece of the Cardinal of York (silver).

one side is a ship in full sail, with the inscription CAR. III. D.G.M.B.F. ET. HR. On the reverse is St. Michael with the Dragon and the legend 'Soli Deo Gloria'.

There is also reliable evidence that, after the death of Charles Edward, the Cardinal of York touched for the Evil, and the comparative frequency with which his touch-pieces are found would suggest that he was lavish in bestowing it.

The late Mr. Grissell,¹ whose name is associated with Papal coins, wrote that he had in his collection a silver coin inscribed H.IX.D.G. M.B.F. ET. HRG. EP. TUSC., given to him in 1874 A.D. by Canon Santorelli of Frascati, with an affidavit that it was used by the Cardinal, whom he knew as a boy, and that his brother, who had suffered from scrofula, was cured when touched by His Eminence.

On French soil the ancient ceremony enjoyed yet a few more years of life. Louis XV at his Coronation in 1722 A.D. had touched no less than 2,000 sick persons, and not being able to proceed to Corbigny, because of the impassable condition of the roads at that late season of the year, the shrine of St. Marcoulf was brought to Rheims, and the almoner carried out the nine days' devotion. A graphic account is given of the ceremonial of Louis XVI at his Coronation in 1775 A.D., when he went to pay his devotion to the shrine of St. Marcoulf at the Abbey of St. Remi, as well as to touch for the Evil.

The cavalcade² upon this occasion was opened by detachments of Musketeers, light horse, and prévotal guards. Then followed several court officers magnificently dressed and mounted. Next appeared three of the King's led horses, covered with blue velvet housings embroidered in gold and silver, and led by six grooms followed by twelve pages on horseback. After these rode several marshals of France and knights of the royal

¹ *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, vol. vii.

² *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. liii. p. 160.

orders. The King, superbly dressed, bestrode a beautiful white charger, attended by six equerries on foot and followed by the master of the horse, who, with the grand chamberlain, princes of the blood and their respective suites, were all mounted on richly-caparisoned horses. Detachments from the Gardes du Corps and other household regiments closed the procession. . . . On reaching the Abbey gates, his Majesty was harangued by the Clergy, and having dismounted was conducted to a chair of state in the chancel. Mass was then celebrated, and the King partook of the communion. As soon as this was ended, his Majesty proceeded to pay his devotion to the shrine of St. Marcoulf, which had been transported from the Abbey of Cortenay to that of St. Remi, expressly for the occasion. Te Deum was then sung, and the King afterwards proceeded to the Abbey Park, in order to perform the ceremony of 'Touching for the Evil'. Two thousand four hundred individuals suffering under this affliction, having been assembled in rows in the park, his Majesty, attended by the household physicians, approached the first on the right. The physician-in-chief then placed his hand upon the patient's head, whilst a captain of the guard held the hands of the latter joined before his bosom. The King, with his head uncovered, then touched the patient by making the sign of the cross upon his face, exclaiming, 'May God heal thee! The King touches thee.' The whole two thousand four hundred having been healed in a similar manner, and the grand almoner having distributed alms to each in succession, three attendants called *Chefs de Goblet*, presented themselves with golden salvers, on which were three embroidered napkins. The first, steeped in vinegar, was then offered to the King by Monsieur: the second, dipped in plain water, was presented by the Count d'Artois: and the third, moistened with orange water, was handed by the Duke of Orleans. When His Majesty had washed and dried his hands, he re-entered the church, and having uttered a prayer of thanksgiving at the shrine of St. Remi, the royal cavalcade returned.

Louis XVI is reputed to have been the first to alter the formula from *Dieu te guérit* to *Dieu te guérisse*, conformably to the spirit of the time.

Paris of the Age of Reason seems to have formally investigated¹ the cases of the 2,400 patients touched by Louis XVI with the result of only five assured cures. Louis XVI was actually not the last King of France to touch for scrofula. At his Coronation in 1824 A.D. Charles X revived the whole ancient ceremonial, and touched 121 sick persons, who were presented to him by two famous surgeons, Alibert and Dupuytren.² Even the Sainte Ampoule, containing the sacred oil, which had been broken by order of the republican Convention, was repaired and used, to give dignity to the effete ritual. Charles X was indeed the last King of France whose sovereignty rested, even in semblance, on the antiquated principle of the divine right of kings. It was the people that handed the crown to Louis Philippe, and with them alone resided the power to withdraw the grant at pleasure.

So one more ancient use passed to the limbo of things forgotten. But still we may say,³ as Clowes said 300 years ago: 'a mighty number of [his] Majestyes most Loyall subjects and also many strangers borne are daily cured and healed, which otherwise would most miserably have perished.'

¹ Du Broc de Segrange, *Les Saints Patron des Corporations*, t. i. p. 321.

² *Relation du Sacre de Charles X*, p. 78. Par Alex. Lenoble.

³ Annual Reports of King Edward's Hospital Fund.

APPENDIX

KING'S EVIL PROCLAMATIONS

FROM THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, AND THE LIBRARIES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, AND THE EARL OF CRAWFORD

From the Society of Antiquaries.

BY THE KING.

Proclamation Concerning The King's Evill.

Whereas such people as repaire to His Majestie for healing of the *King's Evill*, have in former times forborne to approch or offer themselves to the former Kings of this Realme, during the Summer time, in respect of danger and inconvenience, which order hath bene of late neglected, and such people useth to repaire indifferently at all times: Therefore His Majestie doeth declare and forbid, That hereafter no such person make their repaire for healing, betweene the Feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, for the which although it had been ynoch for His Majestie to have signified His pleasure for recontinuing the said order unto the Clarke of his Closet, or his Chirurgions in that behalfe, Yet His Majestie doubting that some such weake and infirme persons may come up from remote parts and thereby leese their travaile, is pleased out of his goodnesse, to publish this Order by His Highnesse Proclamation.

Given at Whitehall the XXV day of March, in the fourteenth yeere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and fourtieth.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 46.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for the better ordering of those who
repayre to the Court, for their cure of the disease
called the Kings Evill.

Whereas by the grace and blessing of God, the Kings and Queenes of this Realme, by many ages past, have had the happinesse, by their sacred touch and invocation of the Name of God, to cure those, who are afflicted with the disease called the Kings Evill; And his now most Excellent Majestie, in no less measure than any of his Royall predecessors, hath had good successe herein, and in his most gracious and pious disposition is as ready and willing as any King or Queene of this Realme ever was, in any thing to releive the distresses and necessities of his good subjects; Yet in his Princely wisdome foreseeing that in this, (as in all other things) order is to be observed, and fit times are necessarilly to be appointed for the performing of this great worke of charitie: His most excellent Majestie doth hereby publish and declare his Royall will & pleasure to bee, That whereas heretofore, the usual times of presenting such persons to his Majesty for this purpose, were Easter and Whitsuntide, That from henceforth the times shall be Easter and Michaelmas, as times more convenient, both for the temperature of the season, and in respect of any contagion, which may happen in this neere accesse to his Majesties sacred Person. And his Majestie doth accordingly will and command, that from the time of publishing this Proclamation, none presume to repayre to his Majesties Royall Court to be healed of that disease, before the feast of S. Michael now next coming. And his Majestie doeth further will and command, that all such as hereafter shall come or repayre to the Court for this purpose, shall bring with them Certificates under the hands of the Parson, Vicar, or Minister and Church Wardens of those severall parishes where they dwell, and from whence they come, testifying according to the trueth, that they have not any time before bene touched by the King, to the intent to be healed

of that disease. And his Majestie doth straitly charge all Justices of the Peace, Constables and other officers, That they do not suffer any to passe, but such as have such Certificates, upon paine of his Majesties displeasure. And to the end that all his loving Subjects may the better take knowledge of this his Majesties pleasure and command, His will is, that this Proclamation be published, and affixed in some open place in every Market Towne of this Realme.

Given at his Majesties Court at White-hall, the eighteenth day of June in the second yeere of His Reigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. 1626.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 85.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for the better ordering of those who repaire to the Court, for their Cure of the Disease, called, The Kings Evill.

Whereas, by the grace and blessing of Almighty God, the Kings and Queenes of this Realme, by many ages past, have had the happinesse by their Sacred Touch, to cure those who are afflicted with the Disease, called, The Kings Evill, and his now most Excellent Majestie, in no less measure then any of His Royall Predecessours, hath had good successe herein, and in His most gracious and pious disposition, is as ready and willing as any King or Queen of this Realme ever was in anything to releive the distresses and necessities of His good Subjects, yet in His Princely wisdom foreseeing, that in this, as in all other things, order is to be observed, and fit times are necessary to bee appointed for performing of this great worke of charitie. And taking into his Royall consideration the inconveniences which may happen both in respect of the temperature of the Season, and in respect of any contagion which may happen in this neere accesse to His Majesties Sacred Person, doth hereby publish and de-

clare His Royall pleasure to be, and also will and command that from the time of the publishing of this Proclamation, no person or persons whatsoever, doe attempt or presume to repaire to His Majesties Royall Court to bee healed of that disease before the Feast of S. Michael now next comming. And to the end that all His loving Subjects may the better take knowledge of this His Majesties pleasure and command, His will is, that this Proclamation be published and affixed in some fit and open place in every Market Towne of this Realme.

Given at Our Court at White-Hall, the seventeenth day of June, in the fourth yeere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majestie.

M.D.C.XXVIII.

British Museum.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for the better ordering of those who repaire to the Court for their cure of the disease called the KING'S EUILL.

Whereas by the grace and blessing of God, the Kings and Queenes of this Realme, by many ages past, have had the happiness, by their sacred touch, and invocation of the Name of God to cure those who are afflicted with the disease called the KING'S EUILL: And His now most excellent Majestie, in no lesse measure than any of his Royall predecessors, hath had good successe herein, and in His most gracious and pious disposition, is as ready and willing as any King or Queen of this Realme ever was, in anything to relieve the distresses and necessite of his good Subjects: Yet in His princely wisedom foreseeing that in this (as in all other things) order is to be observed, and fit times are necessarily to be appointed for the performing of this great Worke of

charitie: His Most Excellent Majestie doth hereby publish and declare his Royall Will and pleasure to be, That whereas heretofore the usual times of presenting such persons to His Majestie for this purpose were Easter and Whitsuntide: That from henceforth the times shall be Easter and Michaelmas, as times more convenient both for the temperature of the season, and in respect of any contagion, which may happen in this neere accesse to His Majesties Sacred Person. And His Majestie doth accordingly Will and command, that from the time of publishing this Proclamation none presume to repaire to His Majesties Royal Court to be healed of that disease, before the feast of St Michael now next coming.

And His Majesty doth further wil and command, that all such as hereafter shall come or repaire to the Courts for this purpose, shall bring with them Certificats, under the hand of y^e Parson, Vicar, or Minister and Churchwardens of those severall Parishes where they dwell, and from whence they come, testifying according to the trueth, that they have not any time before been touched by the King, to the intent to be healed of that disease. And His Majestie doth strictly charge all Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other Officers, that they do not suffer any to passe, but such as have Certificates, upon paine of His Majesties displeasure. And to the end that all his loving subjects may better take knowledge of His Majesties pleasure and command, his will is that this Proclamation be published, and affixed in some open place in every Market Towne of this Realme. All which, His Majestie having by former Proclamation, upon the like occasion, published, and commanded, he doth now again command, strictly to be observed by all and every person or persons whom it shall or may concerne, upon such paines and penalties as may be inflicted upon them for the neglect thereof.

Given at our Court at Greenwich, the eight and twentieth day of June, in the Fifth yeere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill,
Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majestie. MDCXXIX.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 120.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for the better ordering of those who
repaire to the Court, for the Cure of their disease,
called, The Kings Evill.

Whereas by the grace and blessing of God, the Kings and
Queenes of this Realme by many ages past, have had the
happinesse by their sacred Touch, and invocation of the
Name of God, to cure those who are afflicted with the Disease
called, The Kings Evill. And his now most Excellent
Majestie, in no lesse measure then any of his Royall Pre-
decessors, hath had good successe herein, and in His most
gracious and pious disposition, is as ready and willing as any
King or Queene of this Realme ever was, in any thing to
releive the distresses and necessitie of His good Subjects,
yet in His Princely wisedome forseeing, that in this (as in
all other things) order is to bee observed, and fit times are
necessarily to be appointed for the performing of this great
work of charity: His most Excellent Majestie doeth hereby
publish and declare His Royall will and pleasure to bee.
That whereas heretofore the usual times of presenting such
persons to His Majestie for this purpose, were Easter and
Whitsuntide, that from henceforth the times shall be Easter
and Michaelmas, as times more convenient, both for the
temperature of the season and in respect of any Contagion
which may happen in this neere access to His Majesties
sacred Person; And His Majestie doth accordingly will and
command that from the time of publishing this Proclamation,
none presume to repaire to His Majesties Royall Court to be
healed of that disease, before the Feast of St. Michael now
next comming.

And His Majestie doth further will and command, that all
such as hereafter shall come or repaire to the Court for this
purpose, shall bring with them Certificates under the hands
of the Parson, Vicar or Minister, and Churchwardens of
those several Parishes where they dwell, and from whence
they come, testifying according to the trueth, that they have

not any time been touched by the King, to the intent to be healed of that Disease: And his Majesty doth straitly charge all Justices of the Peace, Constables and other Officers, That they do not suffer any to passe, but such as have such Certificates, upon paine of his Majesties displeasure.

And to the end that all His loving Subjects may the better take knowledge of this His Majesties pleasure and command, His will is, that this Proclamation be published and affixed in some open place in every Market Towne of this Realme; All which his Majestie having by former Proclamations upon the like occasion published and commanded, hee doth now againe command strictly to be observed, by all and every person and persons whom it shall or may concerne, upon such paines and penalties as may be inflicted upon them for the neglect thereof.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the sixth day of April, in the sixt yeere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker and John Bill,
Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. M.D.C.XXX.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 140.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for the better direction of those who desire to repaire to the Court, for the Cure of their disease, called, The Kings Evill.

Whereas by the grace and blessing of God, the Kings and Queens of this Realme by many ages past, have had the happinesse by their sacred Touch, and invocation of the Name of God, to cure those who are afflicted with the disease called, The Kings Evill: And his now most Excellent Majestie, in no lesse measure then any of his Royall Predecessors hath had good successe herein, and in his

most gracious and pious disposition is as ready and willing as any King or Queene of this Realme ever was, in any thing to releive the distresses and necessitie of his good Subjects, yet in his Princely wisdom foreseeing, that in this (as in all other things) order is to be observed, and fit times are necessarily to be appointed, for performing of this great worke of charity: His most Excellent Majestie doeth hereby publish and declare his Royall will and pleasure to bee, as formerly his Majesty did by the like Proclamation published in April last; That whereas heretofore the usual times of presenting such persons to his Majestie for this purpose, were Easter and Whitsuntide, That from henceforth the times shall bee Easter and Michaelmas, as times more convenient, both for the temperature of the season, and in respect of any contagion which may happen in this neere accesse to his Majesties Sacred person; And his Majestie doth accordingly will and command, that from the time of publishing this Proclamation, none presume to repaire to his Majesties Royall Court to be healed of that disease, before the Feast of S. Michael now next comming, The danger being now visible to have any concourse of people in this Spring or Summer time to have resort to this Citie of London, the place of His usual accesse, or to his Court or Royall Person. And his Majestie doth further will and command, that all such as hereafter shall come or repaire to the Court for this purpose shall bring with them Certificates under the hands of the Parson, Vicar, or Minister, and Churchwardens of those several Parishes where they dwell, and from whence they come, testifying according to the trueth, that they have not any time before been touched by the King, to the intent to be healed of that disease.

And his Majesty doeth straitly charge all Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other Officers, That they doe not suffer any to passe, but such as have such Certificates, upon paine of his Majesties displeasure. And to the end that all his loving Subjects may the better take the knowledge of this his Majesties pleasure and command, his will is, That this Proclamation be published and affixed to some open place in every market Towne of this Realme; All which his Majestie having by former Proclamations, upon the like

occasion published and commanded, he doth now againe command strictly to be observed, by all and every person and persons whom it shall or may concerne, upon such paines and penalties as may be inflicted upon them for the neglect thereof.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the five and twentieth day of March, in the sixt yeere of Our Reigne

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill. M.DC.XXXI.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 146.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for the better direction of those who desire to repaire to the Court for the Cure of their Disease, called, The Kings Evil.

The Kings most Excellent Majestie, in his most Gracious and Pious disposition, being as ready and willing as any King or Queene of this Realm ever was in any thing to releive the distresses and necessities of His good Subjects, and the good successe upon those who have need of His Sacred touch for the Cure of the Kings Evill, being as happy, by the blessing of Almighty God, as any of His Royall predecessors have beeene; Yet in His Princely wisdome foreseeing that in this great worke of Charitie to singular persons, those fit times are necessarily to bee observed, which may not prejudice the generall health of His people, His Majestie did by His Proclamation in March last, declare His Royall will and pleasure to bee, That whereas the usual times of presenting such persons to His Majestie for this purpose, were Easter and Whitsuntide, that from thencefoorth the times should bee Easter and Michaelmas, as times more convenient, both for the Temperature of the Season, and in

respect of any Contagion which might happen in the neere
accesse to His Majesties sacred Person.

And His Majestie doth thereby accordingly will and
command, That from the time of publishing the said Pro-
clamation, none should presume to repaire to His Majesties
royall Court, to bee healed of that Disease, before the Feast
of S. Michael the Archangel then next comming, and now
last past.

His most excellent Majestie (now considering that the
danger of the infection of the plague is very much dispersed
in divers Counties of this Kingdome) doeth hereby Will and
Command, and doeth also declare His Royall will and
pleasure to bee, That from the time of publishing this
Proclamation, none presume to repaire to His Majesties
Royall Court, to be healed of that disease called the Kings-
Evill, before the fifteenth day of December next ensuing,
and in case the sayd Infection should continue or increase,
which God of his mercie divert, his Majestie will in the
meane time signifie and declare His Royall Will and
Pleasure by Proclamation for some further time, for that
purpose.

And His Majestie doeth further Will and Command, as in
his former Proclamation aforesaid bee Commanded, that all
such as shall come and repayre to the Court for this purpose,
shall bring with them Certificates under the hands of the
Parson, Vicar, or minister, and Churchwardens of those
severall Parishes where they dwell, and from whence they
come, testifying according to the trueth, that they have not
at any time before beene touched by the King, to the intent
to be healed of that disease.

And His Majestie doeth straightly Charge all Justices
of the Peace, Constables and other Officers, That they doe
not suffer any to passe but such as have such Certificates,
upon paine of His Majesties displeasure.

And to the end that all His loving Subjects may the better
take knowledge of this His Majesties pleasure and Command;
His Will is, that this Proclamation bee published and affixed
in some open place in every Market Towne of this Realme.
All which His Majestie doth Command strictly to bee
observed by all and every person, and persons whom it

shall, or may concerne, upon such paines, and penalties as may be inflicted upon them, for the neglect thereof.

Given at Our Court at Hampton, The thirteenth day of October, in the seventh yeere of Our Reigne.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill. M.DC.XXXI.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 147.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation inhibiting the resort of His Majesties people to the Court, for the Cure of the Kings Evill, until the middle of Lent, and to restraine the accesse of others from infected places.

Whereas His Majestie, for that sundry parts of the Realme were Infected, did of late by His Proclamation inhibite resort to be made unto His person for Curing of the Malady called, The Kings Evill, until certain times in his former Proclamatiō specified, And having of late received advertisement from sundry parts of this Realme, that it hath not as yet pleased Almighty God to withdraw his hand, but that the Infection is stil much dispersed. Now by the advice of His Privie Council, doth againe straitly inhibite all His loving Subjects whatsoever, That none of them resort to his Majestie, or places to His Court adjoyning for Cure of the said Infirmitie, called, The Kings Evill, until the middle of Lent next, at which time he purposeth (if God shall be so pleased) to admit them to His presence, and for them to doe as hath been used: Straightly charging all His Officers and Ministers, whom it shall concerne, That they make stay of as many as they shall finde travailing or preparing themselves to His Majestie for Cure of that infirmitie, and to turne them and others whom they shall finde to come from places Infected to the places of their Residence, not suffering them to

approach to His Majesties presence, or His Court, or the Court or Household of His dearest Consort the Queene, as they will avoid His Majesties displeasure, and the Paines by His Lawes obtained against contemners of His Command.

Given at the Court at Whitehall, the eighth day of November, in the seventh yeere of His Majesties Reigne.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill. M.DC.XXXI.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 153.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation, inhibiting the resort of His Majesties people to the Court for the Cure of the King's Evill, and to restraine the accesse of others from infected places.

Whereas His Majestie by His Proclamation published about November last, did inhibite His loving Subjects, That none of them should resort to his Majesties, or places to his Court adjoining, for cure of the infirmity called, The Kings Evill, untill the middle of Lent then following, and now past, which signification of His Majesties pleasure was made, upon advertisement received from divers parts of this Realme, of the dispersing of the Infection of the Plague in sundry places thereof. And sithence the middle of Lent last, His Majestie hath at sundry times admitted of such of His Subjects, as repaired unto Him for Cure of that infirmity, to have accesse to His Person. Yet being given to understand, that the said infection doth again spread it selfe, His Majestie doth straitly inhibite all His loving Subjects, that none of them resort to His Majestie, or places of His Court adjoyning for Cure of the said infirmtie, until Christmas next: Charging all His Officers and Ministers whom it shall concerne, That they

make stay of as many as they shall find travelling, or preparing themselves to His Majestie for Cure of that infirmite, and to turne them, as also all other persons whom they shall finde to come from places Infected to the places of their residence, not suffering them to approach to His Majesties presence, or His Court, or the Court or Houshold of His dearest Consort the Queene, or His Sonne the Prince, as they will avoyd His Majesties displeasure, and the Paines of His Lawes ordained against contemnners of His Command.

Given at the Court at Greenwich the twentieth day of June, in the eighth yeere of the Reigne of our most gracious Sovereigne Lord, King Charles, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith &c.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: and by the assignes of John Bill. M.DC.XXXII.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 173.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation appointing the time when his Majesties subjects may approach to the Court, for the cure of the Disease, called The Kings Evill.

Whereas by the grace and blessing of Almighty God, the Kings and Queenes of this Realme, by many ages past, have had the happinesse, by their sacred touch, to Cure those who are afflicted with the Disease called, The Kings Evill: And his now most Excellent Majesty, in no lesse measure then any of his Royall Progenitors, hath had blessed successe therein: And in his most gracious and pious disposition, is as ready and willing as any King or Queene of this Realme ever was, in anything to releeve the distresses and necessities of his good Subjects: Yet in his Princely wisedome foreseeing, that in this (as in all other things) order is to bee observed, and fit

times are necessary to be appointed for performing of this great worke of Charity : And taking into his Royall consideration the inconveniences which may happen, both in respect of the temperature of the season, and in respect of contagion which may happen in this neere accesse to His Majesties sacred Person, when the season of the yeere is growne warme : Doth hereby publish and declare his Royall Pleasure to be, and also willeth and commandeth, that from the time of the publishing of this Proclamation, no person or persons whatsoever, doe attempt or presume to repaire to his Majesties Royall Court to be healed of that Disease, before the Feast of All-Saints now next comming. And to the end that all His loving Subjects may the better take knowledge of this His Majesties pleasure and command, His pleasure is, that this Proclamation be published and affixed in some fit and open place in every Market Towne of this Realme.

Given at the Court at Whitehall, this two and twentieth day of Aprill, in the tenth yeere of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord, Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie : And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1634.

British Museum.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation appointing the time when His Majesties subjects may attend to be cured of the Disease, commonly called the KING'S EUILL.

Whereas by the grace and blessing of Almighty God, the Kings and Queenes of this Realme by many ages past, have had the happiness by their Sacred touch, to cure those who are afflicted with the disease called the KING'S EUILL : And,

his now most Excellent Majesty, in no lesse measure then any of his Royall progenitors, hath had blessed successe therein: And in His most gracious and pious disposition, is as ready and willing as any King or Queene of this Realme ever was, in anything to releeve the distresses and necessities of his good Subjects: Yet in his Princely wisdom foreseeing, that in this (as in all other things) order is to be observed, and fit times are necessary to be appointed for performing of this greate work of Charity: And taking into his Royall consideration, how adverse and dangerous travell in the winter season is to the health of grieved and diseased persons, especially to such as live in the remote Counties of this Kingdome, doth therefore hereby publish and declare his Royall pleasure to be, and also Willeth and commandeth, that from the time of publishing of this Proclamation, no person or persons whatsoever, doe attempt or presume to repaire to His Majesties Royal Court to be healed of that disease, before the Feast of the Birth of our Lord God now next coming: And to the end that all his loving subjects may the better take knowledge of this His Majesties pleasure and command, His pleasure is that this Proclamation be published and affixed in some fit and open place in every Market towne of this Realme.

Given at His Majesties Palace at Hampton Court this three and twentieth day of September, in the tenth yeere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie: and by the Assignes of John Bill. 1634.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 187.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation forbidding any resort to His Majesties Court, for cure of the Kings-Evill, untill Easter next.

His Majestie having in September last declared his Royall pleasure touching the time he had designed for cure of such His subjects as were afflicted with the disease called the King's-Evill, which by his Proclamation, He had prescribed to have done at the feast of the birth of our Lord God now next comming: And although His Majestie in His gratiouse disposition is as ready, and willing, as any of his predecessours at all times to relieve the distresses, and necessities of His Subjects: Yet now having taken into His Royall consideracion, the present generall dispersion and overspreading of the Small-Pox throughout all parts of this Kingdome, and of the danger that may ensue to His Majesties person, and house-hold, by the accesse and confluence of those people to His Court for cure; Is therefore pleased to put off that worke to a further time: And doth therefore hereby straitly charge, and command, that no person or persons whatsoever, who hath the disease of the Kings-Evill, doe presume to repaire to His Majesties Court, for help, until the feast of Easter next, upon paine of His Majesties high displeasure, His Majesties said late Proclamation, or any signification of his pleasure thereby, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. And to the end that all his loving subjects may the better take knowledge of this His royall command. His pleasure is, that this His Proclamation be forthwith published and affixed, in fit and open places, in every Market-Towne of this His Realme.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the fourteenth day of December, in the tenth yeere of Our Reigne.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1634.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 195 a.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for the better ordering of those who
repaire to the Court for their cure of the Disease,
called, The Kings Evill.

Whereas by the grace and blessing of God, the Kings and Queenes of this Realme, by many ages past, have had the happinesse, by their sacred touch and invocation of the name of God, to cure those who are afflicted with the disease called The Kings Evill: And his now Majesty in no lesse measure than any of His Royall Predecessors, hath had good successe therein: and in His most gracious and pious disposition, is as ready and willing as any King or Queene of this Realme ever was, in any thing to relieve the distresses and necessities of His subjects. Yet in His Princely wisdome, foreseeing that in this (as in all other things) Order is to be observed, and fit times are necessary to be appointed for performing of this great worke of Charity; His most Excellent Majestie doth hereby publish and declare His Royall Will and Pleasure to be, That whereas heretofore the usuall times of presenting such persons to His Majestie for this purpose, were Easter and Whitsontide, That from henceforth the times shall be Easter and Michaelmas, as times more convenient, both for the temperature of the season, and in respect of any contagion which may happen in this neere accesse to His Majesties sacred Person. And His Majesty doth accordingly Will and Command, that from the time of publishing this Proclamation, none presume to repaire to His Majesties Royall Court, to be healed of that Disease, before the Feast of Saint Michael now next comming: And His Majestie doth further Will and Command, that all such as hereafter shall come or repaire to the Court for this purpose, shall bring with them Certificates under the hands of the Parson, Vicar, or Minister, and Churchwardens of those severall Parishes where they dwell, and under the hands and seales of one or more Justices of the Peace for that County from whence they come, testifying according to the truth,

That they have not at any time before beeene touched by the King, to the intent to be healed of that Disease. And His Majesty doth straightly charge all Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other Officers, That they doe not suffer any to passe, but such as have such Certificates, upon paine of His Majesties displeasure. And to the end that all His loving Subjects may the better take knowledge of this His Majesties Pleasure and Command, His Will is, That this Proclamation be published and affixed in some open place in every Market Towne of this Realme, and be read in every Church twice a yeare, that is to say, at Shrouetide and Bartholomewtide, whereby the people may not pretend ignorance of His Majesties ple sure.

Given at Our Court at Oatlands, the eight and twentieth day of July, in the eleventh yeere of Our Reigne.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty: And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1635.

From the Library of the Earl of Crawford, K.T.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for putting off the healing of the King's Euill at Easter next.

The King's most Excellent Majestie by Proclamation published the eight and twentieth day of July, in the eleventh year of his Reigne, did prescribe the times of Easter and Michaelmas, as the most conuenient seasons of the yeare, for presenting unto him for Cure, such persons as were, or should be affected with the disease called The King's Euill. And albeit His Majestie in His gracious and pious disposition, is willing and ready to relieue His Subjects in those their diseases; Yet weighing the present danger that in these infectious times might arise, as well to His Royall Person,

as otherwise, if at this next Easter now at hand, those sick persons should make their resort to this Court for cure; Is therefore pleased to declare his Royall pleasure therein; And doth hereby straitly charge and command, that no person or persons upon pretence of seeking helpe or cure of the said disease of the King's Euill, doe presume to come to His Maiesties Court, or to the Cities of London or Westminster for that purpose at Easter next, but do wholly forbear the same, untill by God's mercie the Sicknesse shall cease, and His Majesties pleasure herein be further signified, upon paine of His Majesties high indignation, and such further punishments as shall be meete to be inflicted for the neglect or contempt of His Majesties Royal Commands.

Given at His Majesties Palace of Westminster, the fist day of March, in the twelfth year of His Highnesse Reigne.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie; And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1636.

British Museum.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation inhibiting all persons to repaire to His Majestie for cure of the Disease, called the *King's Euill*, until Michaelmas next.

Whereas His Majestie by His Proclamation in July last, did prescribe the times of Michaelmas and Easter, for presenting to Him for cure such persons as were affected with the Disease, called the King's Euill. Which His Majestie out of his gracious and pious disposition to relieve their distresses, was willing now at Easter accordingly to have done. Yet foreseeing the danger that may arise as well to his Sacred Person, as otherwise, by the concourse of diseased people from all parts of the Realme to His Majesties Court, especially at this present time, when as the infection of the Plague is discovered and broken out in some places of the Kingdome: His Majestie therefore timely to prevent the dangers thereof, as well to

his owne Person, as to his people, doth hereby publish His Royall Pleasure to be, And also straitly chargeth and commandeth, That no person or persons whatsoever, doe presume to repaire to His Majesties Court to be healed of that Disease at Easter now next comming: But doe wholly forbeare the same, untill the Feast of St Michaell the Archangel next following (unlesse His Majestie shall hereafter declare any shorter time for that purpose) upon paine of His Majesties high Indignation, and to be punished with all severity as Offenders in so high a nature: And His Majestie doth straitly charge and command all Justices of the Peace, Maiors, Bai-liffes, Constables, Headboroughs, and other His Officers and Ministers whatsoever whom it may concerne: That they make stay of as many as they find travelling or preparing themselves to His Majestie for Cure, and that they suffer no Persons whatsoever to make their resort to His Majesties Court now at Easter next for that end: As they tender His Majesties pleasure, and will answer the contrary at their uttermost perils.

Given at Our Palace of Westminster, the seventh day of April, in the twelfth yeere of Our Reigne.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie: and by the Assignes of John Bill. 1636.

State Papers, Domestic. Various. 10. 216.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for putting off the healing of the disease, called the Kings Evill, at Michaelmas next.

The Kings most Excellent Majestie, by Proclamation published the eight and twentieth day of July, in the eleventh yeere of His reigne, Did prescribe the times of Easter and Michaelmas, as the most convenient seasons of the yeere, for presenting to Him for Cure, such persons as were or

should be affected with the disease called the King's Evill : And albeit His Majestie in His gracious and pious disposition, is willing and ready to relieve His Subjects in those their distresses, yet weighing the present danger, that in these yet Infectious times might arise, as well to His Royall person, as otherwise, if at this next Michaelmas now at hand, those sick persons should make their resort to His Court for Cure. Is therefore pleased to declare His Royall pleasure therein ; and doth hereby straitly charge and command, that no person or persons whatsoever, upon pretence of seeking help or Cure of the said disease of the Kings Evill, do presume to come to His Majesties Court, or the Cities of London or Westminister, for that purpose at Michaelmas next, but do wholly forbear the same untill the Feast of the Purification of our Lady, commonly called Candlemas, next comming : Upon paine of His Majesties high indignation, and such further punishments, as shall be meet to be inflicted for the neglect or contempt of His Majesties Royall commands herein.

Given at Our Court at Oatlands the third day of September, in the thirteenth yeer of Our Reign. 1637.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie : And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1637.

British Museum.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation appointing the times for His Majesties healing of the Disease called the KING'S EVILL.

Whereas His Majestie by sundry Proclamations hath appointed the times of healing of the Disease, commonly called the KING'S EVILL, to be EASTER and MICHAELMAS : Neverthelesse His Majestie finding the resort of poor people to his Court for cure at other times of the yeer, not without trouble and danger to his sacred Person, Is pleased again to declare his Royall Will and pleasure therein, and doth there-

fore straitly charge and command, that no person or persons infected with that disease, do hereafter presume to resort to His Majesties Court at any other times, then within fourteen dayes next before EASTER, or fourteen dayes next after : And in like manner, within fourteen dayes before MICHAELMAS, and fourteen dayes next after, and at no other times in the yeer : And that no persons whatsoever do hereafter presume to repaire to His Majesties Court in times of His Progresse, to be healed of the Evill, upon pain of His Majesties high displeasure, and to be further punished as shall be meet. And whereas sundry persons affected with other diseases, do oft times repaire to His Majesties Court, under colour or pretence of Cure of the KING'S EVILL: His Majestie doth therefore will and command, That from henceforth no persons whatsoever shall resort at the times herein limited for healing, before they have been viewed by one Physician, and one Surgeon at least, and their opinions under their hands certified of their disease, together also with Certificate from the Minister and Churchwardens of the Parish (upon their inquiry made) that they have not been touched by His Majestie before. And that none may plead ignorance for their excuse, His Majesties will and commandment is, that this His Proclamation be not only published in every Market Town throughout the Realm, but be also openly set up in every Parish Church, there always to remain for publike view and information in the Premisses, which His Majestie requires the Churchwardens of each Parish to take accordingly to be done, upon pain of His Majesties displeasure, and such penalty as may ensue thereon.

Given at the Court of Greenwich the first day of July, in the fourteenth year of His Majesties Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie : And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1638.

British Museum.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for suspending the time of healing the Disease called THE KING'S EVILL, until Easter next.

Whereas the King's Most Excellent Majestie by His Proclamation dated the first day of July last, did prescribe the times of his healing the Disease called the KING'S EVILL to be MICHAELMAS and EASTER or within fourteen dayes next before, or next after those Feasts : Nevertheless His Majestie being new informed, that the Sicknesse increaseth in many parts of the Kingdome, and foreseeing the danger that may redound to his sacred Person, by the confluence of diseased people at this MICHAELMAS now approaching, Hath thought fit further to suspend all accesse to His Court and Presence for Healing, till EASTER next, or fourteen days before or after the same. And doth therefore straitly charge and command all persons whatsoever, hereby to take knowledge of His Majesties Royal will and commandment herein : And that none presume until EASTER next, or within fourteen dayes next before, or next after the said Feast, to resort to His Majesties Court or Presence for Healing, under pain of His Majesties high displeasure, and to be further punished as shall be meet : His Majesties said proclamation of the first of July last, or anything therein to the contrary notwithstanding, which nevertheless in all other the Directions and Declarations therein expressed, His Majestie willeth and commandeth to be duly and strictly observed, under the penalties therein mentioned.

Given at Our Court of Oatlands the second day of September, in the fourteenth year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1638.

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL.

The Ninth of January. 1683.

Present

The Kings most Excellent Majesty

Lord Keeper	Earl of Bathe
Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Craven
Duke of Ormond	Earl of Nottingham
Duke of Beaufort	Earl of Rochester
Earl of Oxford	Lord Bishop of London
Earl of Huntingdon	Mr. Secretary Jenkins
Earl of Bridgewater	Mr. Chancellour of the Exchequer
Earl of Peterborrow	Mr. Chancellour of the Dutchy
Earl of Chesterfield	Lord Chief Justice Jeffryes
Earl of Clarendon	Mr. Godolphin.

Whereas by the Grace and Blessing of God, the Kings and Queens of this Realm by many Ages past, have had the happiness by their Sacred Touch, and Invocation of the Name of God, to cure those who are afflicted with the Disease called the King's Evil : And His Majesty in no less measure than any of his Royal Predecessors having had good success therein, and in His most Gracious and Pious disposition, being as ready and willing as any King or Queen of this Realm ever was in any thing to relieve the distresses and necessities of His good Subjects ; Yet in His Princely Wisdom foreseeing that in this (as in all other things) Order is to be observed, and fit times are necessary to be appointed for the performing of this great work of Charity, His Majesty was therefore this day pleased to Declare in Council His Royal Will and Pleasure to be, That (in regard heretofore the usual times of presenting such persons for this purpose have been prefixed by His Royal Predecessors) the times of Public Healings shall from henceforth be from the Feast of *All Saints*, commonly called *Alhallow-tide*, till a week before *Christmas*: and after *Christmas* until the First day of *March*, and then to cease till the *Passion Week*, being times most convenient both for the temperature of the season, and in respect of Contagion which may happen in this near access

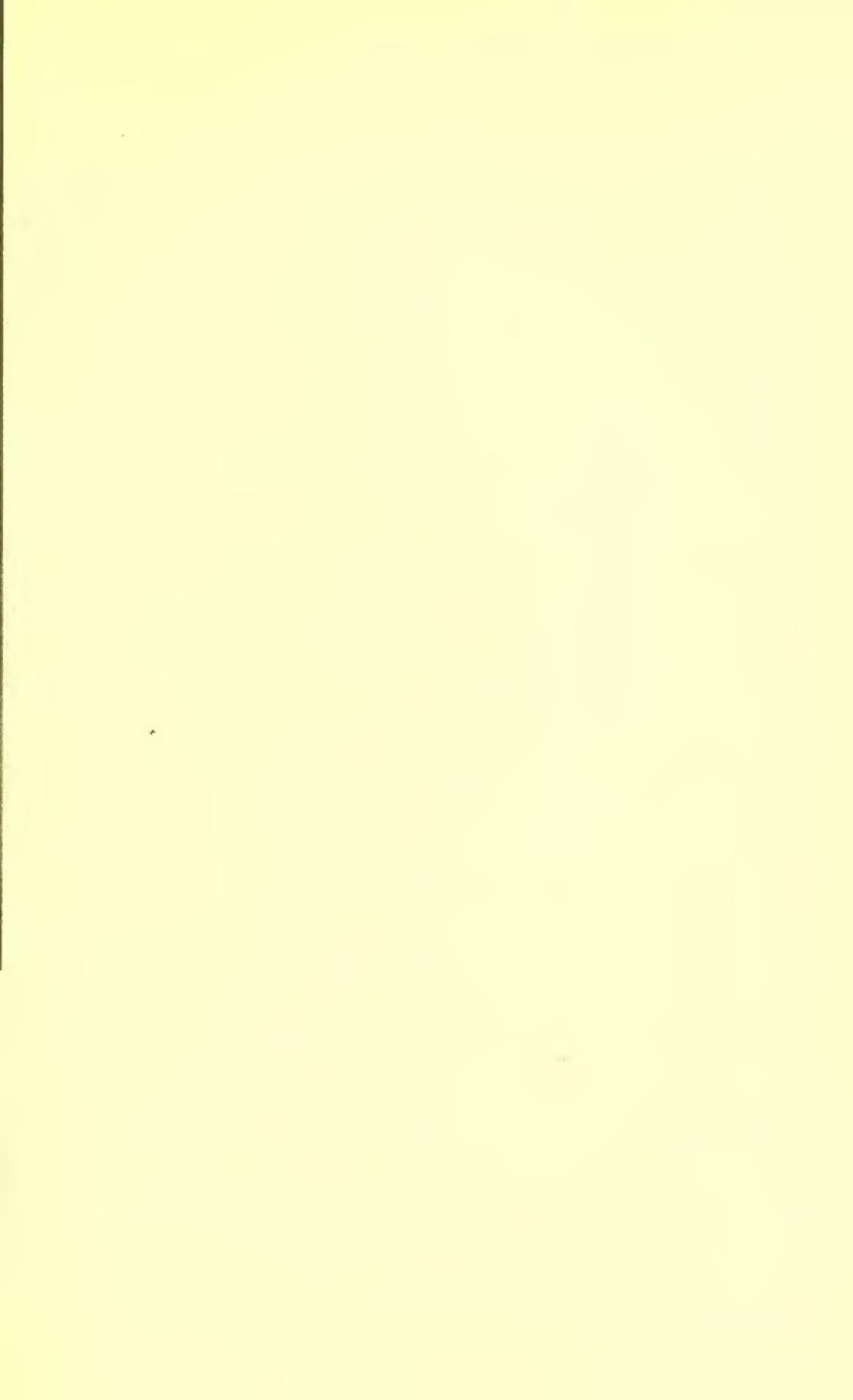
to His Majesties Sacred Person. And when His Majesty shall at any time think fit to go any Progress, He will be pleased to appoint such other times for Healing as shall be most convenient: And His Majesty doth hereby accordingly Order and Command, That from the time of Publishing this His Majesties Order, none presume to repair to His Majesties Court to be Healed of the said Disease, but onely at, or within the times for that purpose hereby appointed as aforesaid. And His Majesty was further pleased to Order, That all such as shall hereafter come, or repair to the Court for this purpose, shall bring with them Certificates under the Hands and Seals of the Parson, Vicar, or Minister, and of both or one of the Churchwardens of the respective Parishes where they dwell, and from whence they come, testifying according to the truth, That they have not at any time before been touched by His Majesty to the intent to be healed of that Disease. And all Ministers and Churchwardens are hereby required to be very careful to examine into the truth before they give such Certificates, and also to keep a Register of all Certificates they shall from time to time give. And to the end that all His Majesties Loving Subjects may the better take knowledge of His Majesties Command, His Majesty was pleased to Direct, That this His Order be Read publickly in all Parish Churches, and then be affxt to some conspicuous place there; And that to that end the same be Printed, and a convenient Number of Copies sent to the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Lord Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Lord Arch Bishop of *York*, who are to take care that the same be distributed to all Parishes within their respective Provinces.

PHI LLOYD

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